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ZOROASTER

THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN

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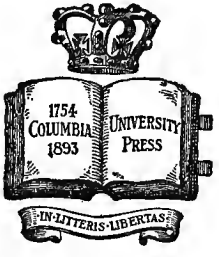
ZOROASTER

THE PROPHET OF ANCIENT IRAN

BY

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON

PROFESSOR OF INDO-IRANIAN LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY



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To

DR. E. W. WEST

AS A MARK OF REGARD

PREFACE

THIS work deals with the life and legend of Zoroaster, the Prophet of Ancient Iran, the representative and type of the laws of the Medes and Persians, the Master whose teaching the Parsis to-day still faithfully follow. It is a biographical study based on tradition; tradition is a phase of history, and it is the purpose of the volume to present the picture of Zoroaster as far as possible in its historic light.

The suggestion which first inspired me to deal with this special theme came from my friend and teacher, Professor Geldner of Berlin, at the time when I was a student under him, ten years ago, at the University of Halle in Germany, and when he was lecturing for the term upon the life and teachings of Zoroaster. It was from him that I received my earliest vivid impression of the historic reality of the Ancient Sage. The special material for the work, however, has grown out of my own lectures, delivered several times in the regular university curriculum of Columbia. Students who may have attended the course will perhaps recognize some of the ideas as discussed with them in the class. As I have had the preparation of this volume in view for some time, I have naturally been constantly adding to my material or collecting new facts to throw light on the subject. It is the aim of the book to bring together all that is generally known at the present time, either from history or from tradition, about this religious teacher of the East.

Our knowledge of Zoroaster has been greatly augmented from the traditional side, during the past few years, especially through the translations made by Dr. West from the Pahlavi texts. This mass of Zoroastrian patristic literature tends

largely to substantiate much that was formerly regarded as somewhat legendary or uncertain. This has resulted in placing actual tradition on a much firmer basis and in making Zoroaster seem a more real and living personage. It is the object of the book to bring out into bolder relief historically the figure of this religious leader. In emphasizing more especially the reality of the great Master's life instead of elaborating the more mythical views of Zarathushtra which prevailed not so long ago, I may, in the judgment of some, have gone too far on the side of realism. But if I have done so, it seems to me that this is a fault at least in the right direction if we may forecast the future from the present. I can but feel that the old writers, like Anquetil du Perron, were nearer the truth in certain of their views of Zoroaster, than has sometimes been supposed. In taking a position so much in accord with tradition with regard to Zarathushtra I might adopt the plea which the old Armenian annalist, Moses of Khorene, employs in another connection: 'there may be much that is untrue in these stories, there may be much that is true; but to me, at least, they seem to contain truth.' I may only add that in general where there is so much smoke there must also be fire, and in the book I hope that others may discern some sparks of the true flame amid the cloud.

As to the arrangement of material and the form of the work, I have sought to make the first half of the volume more general; the second half I have allowed to be more technical. The story of the life and ministry of the Prophet is told in twelve chapters; the more critical discussion of mooted points is reserved for the Appendixes. The general reader may also omit all notes at the bottom of the pages.

In respect to the spelling of proper names the plan has generally been, in the case of Zoroaster, to employ Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, or Zardusht, respectively, if it seemed necessary at any point to indicate the special sources from which I was drawing or to distinguish between Avestan, Pahlavi, and Modern

Persian. I have otherwise called the Prophet by his more familiar name of Zoroaster. The same holds true of his patron Vishtāspa, Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp, and of other ancient names. I have furthermore aimed at giving authority for all statements that I have made, as the abundant references to the original sources and the citations will show.

With regard to indebtedness, I have always tried to give credit to my predecessors and fellow-workers in the field; a glance at the footnotes, I think, will prove this. Each of those to whom I am under obligation will best recognize my indebtedness, and will best be aware of my appreciation. I should like to have referred also to Professor Tiele's latest book, which deals with the religion of Iran, because some twenty of its interesting pages are devoted to Zarathushtra; it arrived after my work was all printed, so I have been able only to add the title in my bibliographical list on p. xv, and to draw attention to the points which are of importance in connection with the present subject. Furthermore, in various parts of my volume I have made acknowledgment to several friends for kind aid which they have readily given on special points, and which I shall gratefully remember.

I now wish to express to the Trustees of the Columbia University Press my appreciation of their encouragement given to me to carry out the work; and I desire especially to thank President Seth Low for the personal interest he has taken in the book from the beginning, and to acknowledge the kind helpfulness of Dean Nicholas Murray Butler in all matters of detail. The Macmillan Company, likewise, have been constantly ready to meet my wishes in every regard; and I owe my thanks also to the printing firm of Messrs. Cushing and Company, to their compositors and their proof-readers, for their careful and prompt despatch of the work.

But beside these acknowledgments there remain two friends to mention, who come in for a large share of remembrance.

These are my two pupils, Mr. Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, and Mr. Montgomery Schuyler, Jr., a member of the class of 1899 in the College, who has been studying Sanskrit and Avestan for the last two years. Since the first proof-sheets arrived, these two generous helpers have been unflagging in their zeal and willingness to contribute, in any way that they could, to giving accuracy to the book. Mr. Gray's indefatigable labor and scholarly acumen are especially to be seen in Appendix V., the completeness of which is due to his untiring readiness to pursue the search farther for texts that might hitherto have escaped notice; and to Mr. Schuyler's hand is owed many a happy suggestion that otherwise would have been lacking in the book, and more than one correction that without his aid might have been overlooked. To both of these scholars I wish to express my thanks; and I feel that they also will recall with pleasure the happy hours spent together in work as chapter after chapter came from the printer's hand. *Forsan et haec olim meminisse juvabit.*

And now I send the book forth, hoping that in some measure it may contribute to a more general knowledge of this Sage of the Past, the Persian Prophet of old, the forerunner of those Wise Men of the East who came and bowed before the majesty of the new-born Light of the World.

A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY,
IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,
October, 1898.

LIST OF WORKS CONNECTED WITH THE SUBJECT OR MOST OFTEN CONSULTED

[The other books which have been referred to are given with their titles as occasion arises to quote from them or to refer to them. The present list is therefore very abridged.]

Anquetil du Perron. Zend-Avesta, Ouvrage de Zoroastre. Tome I. 1, 2 et Tome II. Paris, 1771.

'Vie de Zoroastre' (i. Part 2, pp. 1–70); very important. German translation by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Thl. 3, pp. 1–48; excerpts in English by K. E. Kanga. Bombay, 1876.

Avesta. The Sacred Books of the Parsis. Edited by Karl F. Geldner. Stuttgart, 1885–1896.

All Avestan references are made to this edition except in the case of Yashts 22–24, for which Westergaard's edition was used. The Fragments are found in Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. 1–166.

Ayuso, F. G. Los Pueblos Iranios y Zoroastro. Madrid, 1874.

This volume of studies shows sympathy for tradition. Z. born in the west (p. 7); his date is placed in the Vedic Period, B.C. 2000–1800 (p. 14, cf. pp. 147–149), but confused by tradition with another Z. who lived about B.C. 600 (p. 15).

Brisson, Barnabé. Barnabae Brissonii, De Regio Persarum Principatu Libri Tres. Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. 1590).

Consult especially the full indexes at the end of the edition.

Dabistān. The Dabistān, or School of Manners. Translated from the Original Persian. By Shea and Troyer. 3 vols. Paris, 1843.

Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Geiger's Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in Ancient Times. Translated from the German. (Ostiranische Kultur.) 2 vols. London, 1885–1886.

Contains also a translation of Spiegel's Essay on Gushtāsp and Zoroaster (from Eranische Alterthumskunde).

—— Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman classics. Translated from the German of Drs. Geiger and Windischmann, with Notes and an Appendix. Leipzig, 1897.

See also Windischmann and Geiger.

Darmesteter, James. The Zend Avesta. Translated. Sacred Books of the East, vols. iv., xxiii. Oxford, 1880, 1883, and vol. iv. in second ed., 1895.

Darmesteter, J. Le Zend Avesta, Traduction nouvelle avec Commentaire historique et philologique. 3 vols. Paris, 1892–1893. (Annales du Musée Guimet, xxi., xxii., xxiv.)

This valuable work has been constantly consulted on points relating to the Avesta.

Dasātīr. The Desatir, or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version and Commentary of the Fifth Sasan. Published by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus. An English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dosabhai Framji Karaka. History of the Parsis. 2 vols. London, 1884.

Especially vol. 2, chap. 2, pp. 146–164.

Duncker, M. History of Antiquity. English translation by E. Abbott. Vol. 5. London, 1881.

Firdausī. See Shāh Nāmah.

Geiger, Wilhelm. Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-nāme. Sitzb. der philos. philol. und histor. Cl. d. k. bayer. Ak. d. Wiss., 1890. Bd. ii. Heft 1, pp. 43–84. München, 1890.

—— Ostiranische Kultur im Altertum. Erlangen, 1882.

English transl. by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.

Geiger. Zarathushtra in den Gāthās. A Discourse. Translated by Darab D. P. Sanjana.

See above.

Geldner, K. F. Article 'Zoroaster.' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv., 820–823 (9th ed.), 1888. Also forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in *Encyclopædia Biblica*, ed. Cheyne and Black (read in manuscript).

Gottheil, R. J. H. References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature. In Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, New York, 1894. pp. 24–51 (Columbia University Press).

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Grundriss der iranischen Philologie. Hrsg. von W. Geiger und E. Kuhn. Strassburg, 1896—.

Harlez, C. de. Avesta, Livre Sacré du Zoroastrisme. Traduit du Texte Zend. 2me éd. Paris, 1881.

Valuable Introduction; Chap. II., pp. xviii.-xxxii., 'Zoroastre.'

Haug, M. Essays on the Parsis. Third ed. Edited and enlarged by E. W. West. London, 1884.

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Horn, P. Die Reiche der Meder und Perser. (Geschichte und Kultur. Die Religion Zoroaster's.) Hellwalds Kulturgeschichte. 4 Auflage, Bd. i. 301–332. 1897.

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Sketch of Zoroaster, pp. 134–149.

Hyde, T. Historia Religionis veterum Persarum eorumque Magorum. Oxon. 1700.

A fund of information. Citations after this first edition.

Justi, Ferd. Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathustra. In *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Bd. 88, pp. 55–86, 231–262. Berlin, 1897.

—— Handbuch der Zendsprache. Leipzig, 1864.

—— Iranisches Namenbuch. Marburg, 1895.

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Kanga, Kavasji Edalji. Extracts from Anquetil du Perron's Life and Religion of Zoroaster. Translated from the French. Bombay, 1876. (Commercial Press.)

Kleuker, J. F. Zend-Avesta, Zoroasters Lebendiges Wort. 1 Bd., 3 Thle., und 2 Bde., 5 Thle. Riga, 1776–1783.

Translated from the French of Anquetil du Perron. The 'Anhänge' contain valuable material from the classics and other sources. Often consulted.

Ménant, Joachim. Zoroastre. Essai sur la Philosophie Religieuse de la Perse. 2me éd. Paris, 1857.

General in character.

Meyer, Ed. Geschichte des Alterthums. Erster Baud. Stuttgart, 1884.

Mills, L. H. A Study of the Five Zarathushtrian (Zoroastrian) Gāthās, with texts and translations. Oxford and Leipzig, 1892–1894.

Always consulted on points relating to the Pahlavi version of the Gāthās. See also *SBE.* xxxi.

Mirkhond. History of the Early Kings of Persia. Translated from the original Persian, by Shea. London, 1832.

Especially pp. 263–337.

Mohl. See Shāh Nāmah.

Müller, F. Max. Ed. Sacred Books of the East. Oxford.

Especially the translations by E. W. West, Darmesteter, Mills.

Nöldeke, Th. Persische Studien, II. Sitzb. d. k. Ak. d. Wiss. in Wien, phil. hist. Cl. Bd. cxxvi. 1–46. Wien, 1892.

Oldenberg, Hermann. Zarathushtra. Deutsche Rundschau, xiv. Heft 12, pp. 402–437, September, 1898.

A sketch interestingly written. It arrived too late to be referred to in the body of the book. On p. 409 of his article, Professor Oldenberg gives expression to his view of Z.'s date, which he says, however, is 'merely a subjective estimate,' placing Zoroaster about B.C. 900–800, without discussing the question.

Pastoret, M. de. Zoroastre, Confucius, et Mahomet. Seconde éd. Paris, 1788.

Like Brisson, Hyde, and other old writers, this briefly notes some of the material accessible at the time. Seldom consulted.

Ragozin, Zénaïde A. The Story of Media, Babylon, and Persia. (Story of the Nations Series.) New York, 1888.

Rapp. Die Religion und Sitte der Perser und übrigen Iranier nach den griechischen und römischen Quellen. *ZDMG.* xix. 1–89; xx. 49–204.

Translated into English by K. R. Cama. Bombay, 1876–1879.

Shāh Nāmah. Firdusii Liber Regium qui inscribitur Shah Name, ed. Vullers (et Landauer). Tom. 3. Lugd. 1877–1884.

—— Le Livre des Rois par Abou'l Kasim Firdousi, traduit et commenté par Jules Mohl. 7 vols. Paris, 1876–1878.

Quotations are based on this translation.

—— The Shāh Nāmeh of the Persian Poet Firdausī. Transl. and abridged in prose and verse. By James Atkinson. London and New York, 1886. (Chandos Classics.)

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Spiegel, Fr. Avesta, die heiligen Schriften der Parsen. Uebersetzt. 3 Bde. Leipzig, 1852–1863.

—— Ueber das Leben Zarathustra's, in *Sitzb. der kgl. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. zu München*, 5, January, 1867, pp. 1–92. München, 1867.

Most of this monograph is incorporated into Spiegel's following book.

—— Eranische Alterthumskunde. 3 vols. Leipzig, 1871–1878.

The chapter entitled 'Die letzten Kaiānier und Zarathushtra' (Bd. i. 659–724), is important here, and is accessible in English by Darab D. P. Sanjana. See above.

Tiele, C. P. De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk. Haarlem, 1864.

—— Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst. Amsterdam, 1876.

—— Iets over de Oudheid van het Avesta. Mededeelingen der K. Ak. van Wetenschappen, xi., 3de R., pp. 364–383. Amsterdam, 1895.

Does not accept Darmesteter's view as to late origin of the Avesta; finds traces of Zoroastrianism in the first half of the seventh century B.C.

—— Geschichte der Religion im Altertum bis auf Alexander den Grossen. Deutsche autorisierte Ausgabe von G. Gehrich. 11 Band. Die Religion bei den iranischen Völkern. Erste Hälfte, pp. 1–187. Gotha, 1898.

This excellent volume dealing with the religion of Iran arrived too late to quote from or to mention except here in the Preface, because the rest of my book was already in the press. I should otherwise certainly have referred to such pages in the work as bear upon Zoroaster, for example the following: pp. 37–38, Gaotema is not identified with Buddha, but rather with the Vedic sage (cf. pp. 177–178 of the present volume); p. 49, age of the Avesta, the oldest passages of the Younger Avesta, according to Professor Tiele, are to be placed not much later than B.C. 800, although they were not necessarily at that time in their present form of redaction; p. 54, allusions to Phraortes and Kyaxares; p. 54, Atropatane; p. 58, Bactrian kingdom; p. 92, Zoroaster in the Gāthās; p. 98, allusions to Z.'s name and its meaning; pp. 99–107, question as to his historical, legendary, or mythical existence; p. 121, the cradle of the Zoroastrian reform is to be sought in the north and northwest of Iran, whence it spread probably first toward the east and southeast of Bactria, even as far as India; thence to the south into Media Proper and Persia.

Vullers, J. A. Fragmente über die Religion des Zoroaster, aus dem Persischen übersetzt. Bonn, 1831.

Notes useful.

West, E. W. Pahlavi Texts translated. Parts 1, 2, 3, 4, 5. Sacred Books of the East, ed. F. Max Müller, vols. v., xviii., xxiv., xxxvii., xlvii.

Constantly used. Pahlavi quotations in translation are from these volumes.

Wilson, John. The Pārsī Religion: as contained in the Zand-Avastā. Bombay, 1843.

The Appendix contains a translation of the Zartusht-Nāmah by E. B. Eastwick. Often quoted.

Windischmann, Fr. Zoroastrische Studien. Abhandlungen, hrsg. von Fr. Spiegel. Berlin, 1863.

Valuable material; excerpts accessible now also in English translation by Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana. Often consulted.

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ABBREVIATIONS

[Chiefly titles of Zoroastrian texts]

AJSL.	= American Journal of Semitic Languages (formerly Hebraica).
Av.	= Avesta, ed. Geldner.
BB.	= Bezzenberger's Beiträge.
Bd.	= Būndahishn (*SBE.* v. 1–151).
Byt.	= Bahman Yasht (*SBE.* v. 189–235).
Dab.	= Dabistan (tr. Shea and Troyer).
Dāṭ.	= Dāṭistān-ī Dīnīk (*SBE.* xviii. 1–276).
Dk.	= Dīnkarṭ (*SBE.* xxxvii. 1–397, 406–418; xlvii. 1–130).
JAOS.	= Journal American Oriental Society.
JRAS.	= Journal Royal Asiatic Society.
KZ.	= Kuhn's Zeitschrift.
Mkh.	= Mainōg-ī Khiraṭ (*SBE.* xxiv. 1–113).
Ms., Mss.	= Manuscript, manuscripts.
OIK.	= Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur.
PAOS.	= Proceedings American Oriental Society.
Pers.	= Persian.
Phl.	= Pahlavi.
SBE.	= Sacred Books of the East. Ed. F. Max Müller.
Sd.	= Sad-dar (*SBE.* xxiv. 253–361).
Shg.	= Shikand-gūmānīk Vijār (*SBE.* xxiv. 115–251).
ShN.	= Shāh Nāmah.
Sls.	= Shāyast lā-shāyast (*SBE.* v. 237–406).
Skt.	= Sanskrit.
Vd.	= Vendīdād.
Vij.	= Vijirkarṭ-ī Dīnīk.
Vsp.	= Visperad.
Ys.	= Yasna.
Yt.	= Yasht.
YZ.	= Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān (übersetzt von Geiger).
Z.	= Zoroaster.
Zsp.	= Selections of Zāṭ-sparam (*SBE.* v. 153–187 and xlvii. 131–170).
ZtN.	= Zartusht Nāmah (in Wilson's Parsi Religion).

ant.	= ancient.
cf.	= confer, compare.
ed.	= edited by, editor.
e.g.	= exempli gratia, for example.
i.e.	= id est, that is.
l. ll.	= line, lines.
n.	= note.
op. cit.	= opus citatum, work quoted from.
orig.	= original.
p. pp.	= page, pages.
prob.	= probably.
qu.	= query, question.
seq.	= sequens, and the following.
tom.	= tomus, volume.
tr. transl.	= translated, translation.
vol.	= volume.

ZOROASTER

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν.

— Iohannes Chrysostomos.

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers — Zoroaster and Buddha — Plan and Scope of the Present Work — Zoroaster as a Historical Personage — Sources of Information — Zoroaster in the Classics — Conclusion

Zoroaster's Position among Early Religious Teachers. — Among the early religious teachers of the East, if we leave out the great founders of Judaism and of Christianity, the name of Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, the Persian sage and prophet of ancient Iran, is entitled to hold one of the most distinguished places. To Zoroaster is due the same rank, the same respect, the same reverential regard that is due to such seekers after light as Buddha, Confucius, Socrates. Even some of the great thoughts of Christianity may be found to have been voiced likewise by Zoroaster — a fact which cannot but be of interest — although it belongs elsewhere to discuss the possibility or impossibility of any closer or more distant bonds of connection between Judaism and Christianity and the faith of ancient Iran. Between India and Iran, however, a natural connection and kinship is acknowledged; and owing to the importance of Buddhism as a contrasted faith, a brief parallel between the teachings

of Zoroaster and the doctrines of Buddha may be drawn by way of introduction.

Both these prophets were filled with a spiritual zeal for relieving a people and ameliorating their condition; both of them were inspired with a righteous hope of bettering their peoples' lives and of redeeming them from misery and sin; and both men became founders of religious faiths. The end and aim in both cases was in general alike; but the nature of the two minds and of the creeds that were developed shows some marked and characteristic, if not radical, differences. The faith of Buddha is the more philosophical; the faith of Zoroaster, the more theological. Buddha's doctrine is a creed rather of renunciation, quietism, and repose; Zoroaster's creed is a law of struggle, action, and reform. India's so-called Prophet Prince is overwhelmed with the wretchedness of human existence, an existence from which the sole release is absorption into Nirvāna; Persia's Sage is equally cognizant of the existence of woe, but it is no world-woe without hope of triumphant domination. The misery which Zoroaster acknowledges to exist is due to an Evil Principle against whom man must struggle all his life and fight the good fight which will bring final victory and will win joys eternal at the resurrection. Nevertheless, as a faith in reality, Buddha's belief had in it more of the elements of a universal religion; Zoroaster's faith, as Geldner has said, possessed rather the elements of a national religion. Millions of human souls still take refuge in Buddha; the faithful followers that bear the name of Zoroaster to-day do not number a hundred thousand. In making such a comparison, however, with regard to the relative proportion between the two faiths in the matter of present adherents we must not forget that national events and external changes in the world's history have contributed as much to this apparent disproportion as any inherent and essential difference between the nature of the two creeds has done.

So much may be said by way of bringing Zoroaster into con-

trast with the founder of the Indian religion that came after his own; and as recent discoveries have thrown so much light upon Buddha's life, and archaeological finds have contributed so much to substantiating traditions that long have been familiar but were not always estimated at their true value, it seems worth while to take up the subject of Zoroaster's life anew and to ascertain all that we are in a position just now to find out regarding it. The purpose therefore of the following pages is to gather as much material as is accessible at present for illustrating the life and legend of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and this will be done with special reference to tradition.

Zoroaster as a Historical Personage. — Before proceeding to details with regard to the prophetic teacher of Iran, one point must be emphasized at the outset, and an opinion must definitely be expressed; this is with reference to the question raised as to whether Zoroaster be a historical personage, a real figure whose individuality is indelibly stamped upon the religion of Persia of old. An affirmative answer must be given, for Zoroaster *is* a historical character. This point is emphasized because it is not so long ago that advanced scholarship for a time cast a cloud of doubt over the subject;[1] but happily the veil of myth is now dispelled. Scholars are generally agreed that although legend or fable may have gathered about the name of the prophet of ancient Iran, the figure of the great reformer, nevertheless, stands out clearly enough to be recognized in its general outlines; and sufficient data for his life can be col-

[1] Among other references noted by Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 708 n., mention may be made of Kern, *Over het Woord Zarathustra en den mythischen Persoon van dien Naam* (1867); observe also Spiegel's remark in *Die arische Periode*, § 43, p. 299 (Leipzig, 1887); and especially the late lamented Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, Part i. Introd. pp. 76–79 (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1880). For the historical side of the question see Geldner, 'Zoroaster' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th ed. xxiv. 820, and consult Spiegel, *EA.* i. 707–708, and recently, with emphasis, in *ZDMG.* lii. 193. Darmesteter later expressed himself more cautiously, see *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 75 seq. (Paris, 1893), and *Zend-Avesta*, Introd. p. 63, § 10, 2d ed. (*SBE.* iv. Oxford, 1895).

lected to enable one to give a clear and correct idea of his personality and individuality.[1] There are parts, it is true, in every great man's life regarding which nothing is known (one has only to think of the Shakspere-Bacon controversy); and in the case of all early teachers' lives there are many lacunæ to be filled. The broken fragments of the statue are sometimes separated so far that we cannot find many of the missing chips, and we must be content to piece the parts imperfectly together. Caution must necessarily be used in such restorations. The existence of legend, fable, and even of myth, may be admitted in dealing with Zoroaster's life; some apocryphal literature is acknowledged to have grown up about the hallowed Messiah of Christianity;[2] but the shadowy substance gathered about the figure of Zoroaster must not be allowed to shroud and obscure his true personality. Cautious we must be, conservative we must be, yet not so far as to exclude a willingness to recognize characteristic traits and features, or to define more sharply objects and forms whose outlines are now and then somewhat dimly presented. In the present research an attempt will be made frankly to give warning where points are doubtful; and difficult as it is at this remote day, an endeavor will be made fairly and impartially to distinguish between fiction on the one hand and underlying facts on the other, so far as they may be looked upon as reasonably certain, presumable, or plausible. The achievement undoubtedly falls far short of the aim in the present monograph; and some will feel that too much weight is given to traditional statements; but in the absence of other authority we have at least these to turn to; and the purpose is to lay these down for reference and for judgment. After this prefatory note has been given, attention may now be directed to the sources of our knowledge in antiquity respecting the life and legend of Zoroaster as a historical personage.

[1] See especially Dr. E. W. West in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 29–30 (Oxford, 1897).

[2] See *Apocryphal New Testament*, London, 1820.

Sources of Information about Zoroaster's Life. — The data for reconstructing an outline of the life of the great reformer may be conveniently classified, first (1) as Iranian, second (2) as non-Iranian. Naturally the various sources are not all of equal importance; yet each has a certain intrinsic value.

Among (1) the Iranian sources of information the Avesta, of course, stands foremost in importance as the material with which to begin; and in the Avestan Gāthās, or Psalms, Zoroaster is personally presented as preaching reform or teaching a new faith. The entire Pahlavi literature serves directly to supplement the Avesta, somewhat as the patristic literature of the Church Fathers serves to supplement the New Testament. Especially valuable is the material in the Pahlavi Dīnkart and the Selections of Zāt-sparam, material which has been made accessible by Dr. E. W. West in his 'Marvels of Zoroastrianism' (*SBE.* xlvii. Pahlavi Texts, Part V.; Oxford, 1897). Without West's work many of the following pages could not have been written. Of similar character, as based chiefly upon these two sources, is the later Persian Zartusht Nāmah, which was composed in the thirteenth century of our era.[1] Firdausī's Shāh Nāmah, of the tenth century A.D., contains abundant old material bearing upon the reign of Zoroaster's patron, King Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa).[2] Some other Parsi works and traditional literature may be included in the list, but these will be mentioned as occasion arises in the course of the investigation.[3] Zoroaster is not mentioned in the Ancient Persian Inscriptions, but the silence may be accounted for.

[1] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *The Parsi Religion*, pp. 477–522, Bombay, 1843. Consult West in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122; *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 20–24.

[2] Firdausī expressly states that the portion of his chronicle which relates to Zoroaster (Zardusht) is derived from his own poetic predecessor, Daḳīḳī, who was cruelly murdered when he had sung but a thousand verses. These Firdausī says he has incorporated into the Shāh Nāmah. Scholars are generally inclined to accept the truth of the statement. See Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 147–150.

[3] West, *The Modern Persian Zoroastrian Literature*, Grundriss der iran. Philol. ii. 122–129, and Spiegel, *Die traditionelle Literatur der Parsen* (Wien, 1860).

(2) The non-Iranian sources are either (*a*) Classical or (*b*) Oriental. The latter include especially the allusions to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic literature,[1] as well as some Armenian references and other incidental mentions.[2] In point of antiquity the classical references, as a rule, rank next to the Avesta; and these allusions, even though they are foreign, are often of real importance, as they serve to check or to substantiate results which are based upon various authorities.[3] The Appendixes to the present volume will render most of this material easily accessible.

Zoroaster in the Classics.[4] — All classical antiquity is agreed on the point that Zoroaster was a historical personage, even though his figure was somewhat indistinct in the eyes of these ancient authors. To the writers of Greece and Rome he was the arch-representative of the Magi;[5] and he sometimes seems to be more famous for the magic arts which are ascribed to his power than for either the depth and breadth of his philosophy and legislation, or for his religious and moral teaching. None the less, he was regarded as a great sage and as a prophet whose name was synonymous with Persian wisdom, or as the founder of the Magian priesthood who are sometimes said to be his pupils and followers.[6]

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, pp. 24–51, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[2] Chinese, for example; but these have not yet been made generally accessible. Consult Appendix VI.

[3] For instance, an allusion to Zoroaster which is found in the Preface to the Younger Edda is probably traceable to some classical or Semitic original. See Jackson in *Proceedings of the American Oriental Society*, xvi. p. cxxvi. March, 1894. Appendix VI.

[4] For a collection of the material on this subject, see Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[5] Consult also the Pahlavi Dînkart, 9. 69, 58; 4. 21. 34 (*SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 397, 412, 417), and see Av. *moγu*, *moγuṯbiš*, Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 235.

[6] Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122, A, *μαγείαν . . . τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου· ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο Θεῶν θεραπεία.* Cf. also Apuleius, *de Magia*, xxiv. (Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 n.). So Hermodorus as cited by Diogenes Laertius, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* 9, ed. Müller; Plutarch, *Isis et Osiris*, 46; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 304; Pliny,

The Magi, as we know from Herodotus, were a tribe, not merely a priestly family, and the right of the classics to call Zoroaster a Magian is borne out in other ways. The Pahlavi Dīnkart̲ regards the 'Avesta and Zand' as the sacred writings of the Magian priests.[1] The learned Arab chronologist Albīrūnī adds that 'the ancient Magians existed already before the time of Zoroaster, but now there is no pure unmixed portion of them who do not practice the religion of Zoroaster.'[2] Several Syriac and Arabic writers speak of him as 'a Magian,' 'head of the Magians,' 'chief of the sect,' 'Magian prophet,' 'diviner.'[3] This direct association of his name with the Magi is perhaps to be understood with some limitations; but the Magi were the reputed masters of learning in ancient times, and Zoroaster stood for this learning in antiquity.[4]

Of the Magian teachings and doctrines it is difficult to form a clear picture, except so far as we may believe them to be reflected in Zoroaster, after we have made due allowance for changes or reforms that he may have instituted. The classical tradition that Pythagoras studied under these masters in Babylon may not be altogether without foundation.[5] Plato we know was anxious to visit the Orient and to study with the Magi, but the Persian wars with Greece prevented him.[6]

Hist. Nat. **30.** 2. 1; Agathias, **2**, 24; Plutarch, *Numa*, 4; Suidas, *s.v.* Pythagoras; cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 21 seq.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 44. See Appendix V. at the end of this volume.

[1] Dk. **4.** 21; **4.** 34, West, *Phl. Texts Trans.* in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 412, 417.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, transl. by Sachau, p. 314, London, 1879.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, pp. 24–51, in Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler, New York, 1894 (Columbia Univ. Press).

[4] For example, Cicero, *de Divinatione*, 1. 23 et al.; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 277 n.

[5] See Appendix V. below, and cf. Lucian, *Dialog.* cited by Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. ii. 3, p. 104; Cicero, *de Finibus*, **5.** 29; Valerius Maximus, **8.** 7; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Apuleius, *Florid.* p. 19; Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 41; Lactantius, *Institutiones*, **4.** 2; Iamblichus, *Vita Pythagoræ*, 19; Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357. Consult Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 260–264.

[6] Diogenes Laertius, *Philosoph. Vit.* 3. 7; Apuleius, *de Doctrin. Plat. Phil.* p. 569. The *Anonym. Vit. Plat.* p. 7, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862, adds

The followers of the Sophist Prodicus, a contemporary of Socrates, are reported to have boasted their possession of secret writings of Zoroaster ;[1] and even a Magian teacher, one Gobryas, is claimed as instructor of Socrates.[2] Aristotle, Deinon, Eudoxus of Cnidus, and especially Theopompus, were familiar with Zoroastrian tenets.[3] A work bearing the name of Zoroaster by Heraclides Ponticus, a pupil of Plato and of Aristotle, is mentioned in Plutarch.[4] The distinguished philosopher Hermippus (about B.C. 200) made careful studies of Magism and of Zoroastrian writers, according to Pliny (*H. N.* **30.** 2. 1). Zoroaster and Magian were names to conjure with, and there are numerous allusions to ideas drawn from these sources in Plutarch, Strabo, Suidas, and others.

Titles of a number of purported books of Zoroaster are also given in the classics, such as *περὶ φύσεως*, *περὶ λίθων τιμίων*, *βίβλιοι ἀπόκρυφοι Ζωροάστρου*, *ἀστεροσκοπικὰ Ζωροάστρου*.[5] Furthermore, some 'sayings' of Zoroaster, like those mentioned by Gemistus Pletho, *Μαγικὰ λόγια τῶν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου Μάγων*, are both reported to have existed, and passages are occasionally claimed to be taken from them. Like other such productions, however, these are all probably apocryphal, although the encyclopædic character of the titles somewhat recalls the analysis and summaries that we have of the Zoroastrian Nasks.[6] At all events, these references and allusions show how great a reputation was enjoyed by Zoroaster in classical antiquity, even if his name does not occur in Herodotus[7] nor

that in Phœnicia Plato met with Persians who introduced him to Zoroastrian lore. Cf. Appendix V. § 1.

[1] Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, i. p. 357.

[2] Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 77.

[3] Diogenes Laertius, *Procem.* 8; Pliny, *H. N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 47 ; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 233 n., 279 n., and App. V. below.

[4] Plutarch, *Adv. Colot.* p. 1115 A; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 284. Thanks also to friend Lanman.

[5] See allusions in Suidas and in Pliny. Appendix V. below.

[6] West, *Pahlavi Texts*, *Translated* in *SBE.* xxxvii. 1-488.

[7] Cf. de Harlez, *Des Origines du Zoroastrisme*, p. 276, Journal Asiatique, 1878-79 ; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76.

in Xenophon, nor with certainty in the extant fragments of Ctesias. The earliest authenticated classical allusion to Zoroaster by name seems to be the reference in the Platonic Alcibiades ;[1] although, according to Diogenes Laertius (*Proœm.* 2), he was mentioned by the earlier Xanthus of Lydia.[2]

Conclusion. — As Zoroaster is one of the great religious teachers of the East, his life as well as his work is worthy of study from its historical importance. Our information regarding his life is to be gathered from the Zoroastrian scriptures, the Avesta and the Pahlavi writings, and other material must be used to supplement or to correct these sources. Due weight must be given to tradition. It must also be remembered that fiction as well as fact has doubtless gathered about the name of this religious reformer. This latter fact is all the more a proof of his great personality.

[1] See *Alcibiades* I, 122, p. 131, ed. Schanz.

[2] See Appendix V. below, and consult also my article 'Zoroaster' in Harper's *Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, New York, 1897.

CHAPTER II

FAMILY HISTORY OF ZOROASTER

THE LINEAGE OF THE MASTER

Sa jāto yena jātena yāti vaṃs'aḥ samunnatim.
— HITOPADES'A.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER AN IRANIAN — THE NAME ZOROASTER (ZARATHUSHTRA), ITS FORM AND ITS MEANING — THE DATE OF ZOROASTER — HIS NATIVE PLACE — ZOROASTER'S ANCESTRY AND HIS FAMILY; GENEALOGIES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — When a man rises to lasting fame, all that is associated with his name and his times becomes of interest and of importance. Lustre is shed upon his family, and distinction is lent to the line that produced such a son. If great men are the children of their age, the age of a great religious teacher can but deserve attention. His own origin, the influences that may have been formative in his life, his environment and surroundings, alike become worthy of consideration. The nature and condition of the country which called him forth requires some remark, and with regard to Zoroaster it is to be regretted that we do not know more than we do of Iran in early antiquity, and that only a limited space can be devoted here to this special theme, although it receives more or less treatment in different places throughout the book. This prophet's teaching found fruitful soil in the land of Ancient Iran, because the seed was already in the hearts of the people, if we may adapt the phrase of a renowned author.

Zoroaster of Iran. — Zoroaster, it is believed, sprang up in the seventh century before the Christian era, somewhere in

the land between the Indus and the Tigris. Before our mind rises first a picture of the world outside of Iran, the kingdoms of Assyria and Babylon, with their long line of dynasties reaching far back into history which antedates Iran;[1] to the southeast lies India, bound by the ties of Indo-Iranian unity; lastly, and to offset all, Turan, the rival and foe, the synonym of everything crude, uncouth, and barbarous, borders upon the Iranian territory to the north. But to return to the land of Iran itself during this period. There exists, or is claimed to have existed in early times, an eastern Iranian kingdom in Bactria. An uncertainty with regard to this point will be noted hereafter. Media, however, has already been known to fame in history long before this period; and in the eighth century B.C. its power was able to throw off the yoke of Assyria, and at the close of the seventh century (B.C. 606) to crush Nineveh and establish the Median dynasty of Ecbatana, which may be called the first of the great Iranian kingdoms.[2] But the decadence of Media swiftly follows, and its glory is dimmed before the splendor of the rising Persian sun. So much for the period and land in which Zoroaster appeared.

During the very lifetime of Zoroaster — if we accept the traditional dates — the Jews were carried into captivity in Babylon, and their return from exile to Jerusalem takes place less than a generation after his death. If the Persian wars with Greece stand for anything in the world's history, when Orient and Occident met at Marathon, Platæa, Salamis, when the East received its first shock and set-back from the West, certainly we must feel an interest in the life of that man who is commonly spoken of as the lawgiver of the Persians. His

[1] In the Avesta, Babylon is the seat of the semi-mythical tyrant and demon Azhi Dahāka, who destroyed the Iranian ideal king Yima (Jem-shēd) and ruled for a thousand years. On the religion of Babylon and Assyria, compare Tiele, *Geschichte der Religion*, i. 1. pp. 127–213.

[2] Cf. also the article 'Iranians' (*AVWJ.*) in *Johnson's Universal Cyclopædia*, iv. 670.

name, his date, and his native place, his family, his ancestry, and his associations, are all matters of some moment. These will be given in this chapter before turning to the more picturesque story of his life. The question of his religious beliefs, teaching, and philosophy, can be dealt with only incidentally, as this is reserved for treatment in another work.

The Name Zoroaster (Zarathushtra), its Form and its Meaning. — The form of the Prophet's name in the Avesta consistently appears as *Zaraθuštra*, or with the fuller patronymic as *Spitāma Zaraθuštra*.[1] The shapes or disguises which this appellative has assumed in other languages show as much variety as does the spelling of the name of the English reformer Wyclif (Wycliff, Wyclyffe, etc.). The familiar form (*a*) *Zoroaster* is adopted from *Zoroastres* of the Latin, which in turn is modelled after the Greek form. (*b*) In Greek the name commonly appears as Ζωροάστρης,[2] but sporadic variations are found, for example Ζωρόαδος, Ζαράδης beside Ζωροάστρης in Agathias **2**. 24, or the anomalous Ὡρώαστος (Georgius Hamartolus), see Appendix V.; or again, the forms Ζάρατος,[3] Ζάρης,[4] which are also quotable from the Greek, seem to be based upon the later Persian form. A græcized Armenian form (Arm. *Zaravēšt*) is cited from Cephalion;[5] and Diodorus Siculus (**1**. 94) has Ζαθραύστης,[6] which recalls the Avestan form, Zarathushtra,

[1] Consult Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 380, Marburg, 1895; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 44, 45; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. xxi. Cf. also Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 2, Paris, 1771, and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 307 seq. Oxford, 1700. See also Appendix I.

[2] Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procœm. 2. p. 1 (recens. Cobet), Paris, 1850. Observe that Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46, once has Ζωρόαστρις, once the usual Ζωροάστρης (*Numa*, 4), and once the curious Σώσαστρος (*Quæst. Conviv.* **4**. 1. 1). On *Zoroastes* (sic) in Isidorus, see Appendix V. § 38; and on Ζαραστρέως (gen.) cf. Lassen *ZKM.* vi. 541, n. 2.

[3] Porphyrius, *Vita Pythagoræ*, p. 18, ed. Nauck (Ὁ Πυθαγόρας) πρὸς Ζάρατον ἀφίκετο.

[4] Suidas, s.v. *Pythagoras*; see Appendix V., § 45.

[5] From Cephalion through Eusebius (*Armen. Versio*, p. 41, ed. Maï), according to de Harlez, *Av. tr.* Introd. p. xx. See Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, 380*a*, on Zaravastes in Müller, *Fragm.* iii. 626, 627.

[6] Diodorus Siculus, **1**. 94. 2, Παρὰ μὲν γὰρ Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην. See Appendix V. § 3 below.

of the Prophet's name.[1] (*c*) An Armenian rendering of the appellative is given as *Zradasht*.[2] (*d*) The Syriac and Arabic writings show the name under a variety of guises, but they generally agree with the Pahlavi or Modern Persian form.[3] (*e*) The Pahlavi version of the name is usually given *Zaratūšt*.[4] (*f*) Some of the Modern Persian varieties are *Zartušt*, *Zardušt*, *Zārdušt*, *Zarduhašt*, *Zarātušt*, *Zarāduśt*, *Zarātuhašt*, *Zarāduhašt*, *Zārāhušt*.[5] All these are variations of Avestan *Zaraθuštra*.

The question as to the significance of the name of Iran's prophetic teacher is not without interest. India's princely reformer was the 'Enlightened' (*Buddha*) or the 'Sakya Sage' (*Śākyamuni*); Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of God, was the Wonderful, the Counsellor, the Anointed (*Christus*). In ancient Iran Zoroaster, the Righteous, was called *Zaraθuštra*, or *Zaraθuštra Spităma*, *Spitămа Zaraθuštra*, or sometimes simply *Spitămа*. The title *Spitămа* is a family designation, and the name comes from an ancestor of the Prophet, a heros eponymus of the clan.[6] The Spitaman name is elsewhere found early in Media. The derivation of this patronymic *Spitămа*, used as an appellative, is apparently from the Av. root *spit-* 'be white' = Skt. *s'vit-*, and the significance is probably 'descendant of White,' like the English *Whit-ing*. The origin of *Zaraθuštra* itself is less

[1] The Greek form Ζοροάστρης, or Ζωροάστρης, is apparently to be explained as derived from Av. Zarathushtra through a Western Iranian presumable form **Zarəθuštra*, cf. Bartholomae in *Grundriss d. iran. Philologie*, i. §§ 93, 264 (8).

[2] See also Hübschmann, *Persische Studien*, p. 204, Strassburg, 1895.

[3] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Writers*, p. 25 seq.

[4] West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, Part 5, in *SBE.* xlvii. 180, Index.

[5] Cf. Vullers, *Lexicon Persico-Latinum*, ii. p. 103, Bonn, 1865; West, *The Book of the Mainyo-i-Khard*, p. 223; Stuttgart, 1871.

[6] See the genealogy given below, p. 19, and consult Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, sub voce; also *Iranisches Namenbuch*, Marburg, 1895. Zoroaster's daughter is *Pourucistā Spitāmī*, Ys. 53. 3; his cousin is *Maidyōimāŋha Spitāma*, Ys. 51. 19; the members of the family are spoken of as the Spitamas (Ys. 46. 15) *Spitamāŋhō*. In Pahlavi, the Prophet is called *Zaratūšt ī Spītāmān*, 'Zoroaster of the Spītāmas'; the Mod. Pers. has *Isfīmān*, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 309; Σπιταμᾶς, Σπιθάμης are quotable as ordinary Iranian proper names.

clear than Spitāma and the derivation has been much discussed. Scholars, however, are now generally agreed upon one point; it is that the second member of the compound (for the form must be a composite) is the word *uštra-* 'camel,'[1] but the precise nature of the compound and the true meaning of its first element are uncertain. The most probable significations that have been proposed are: 'one whose camels are old' (*zar* 'be old')[2] or 'old camel' (cf. Skt. *jarad-gava*, *jarat-kāru-*); or again 'one whose camel is fierce' (*zar* 'be angry') or possibly 'tormenting the camel'; or 'robbing a camel' (cf. Skt. *bharadvāja*). Numerous other suggestions and explanations have been offered; and some of them show a good deal of fancy; but doubtless the name is an unromantic, unpoetic name, a title which the man retained as his birthright even after he became famed as a spiritual and religious teacher. The very fact of his retaining this somewhat prosaic appellative testifies to a strong personality; Zoroaster remains a man and he is not dubbed anew with a poetic title when later sanctification has thrown a halo of glory about his head. For an outline of the various discussions of Zoroaster's name, the reader is referred to the special Appendix.[3]

The Date of Zoroaster. — With reference to the date at which Zoroaster lived and taught, there has been a wide diversity of opinion, but now a more general agreement between the views of scholars on the subject is beginning to prevail. The consensus of opinion has of late been growing stronger in favor of accepting the traditional view, based on the chronology of the

[1] The esteem in which the Bactrian camel is held is well known (cf. Yt. 14. 11–13). Other Iranian proper names contain *uštra*, e.g. *Fraša-uštra* 'whose camels are fresh,' *Aravaoštra* 'whose camel does not hellow' (cf. *ravō-fraoθman*), *Vohuštra* 'having good camels' (Yt. 13. 122, cf. Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, i. p. 673). There are many similar compound appellatives with *-aspa* 'horse,' *gao-* 'cow,' *-uxšan* 'ox,' which are probably totemistic family survivals; see Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 486 seq., Marburg, 1895.

[2] Cf. Hübschmann, *KZ.* xxvi. p. 203; Geldner, *Zoroaster*, Encyclopædia Britannica, 9th ed. xxiv. p. 820; Bartholomae, in *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* i. pp. 149–150; *A.F.* i. p. 160; *I.F.* vi. Anz. p. 47.

[3] See Appendix I. below.

Būndahishn, which places the era of Zoroaster's activity between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century. A detailed discussion of the question with a general presentation of the material on the subject has been given by the present writer in a monograph on *The Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 1–22, 1896 (reprinted in Appendix II.). The results are rendered even more precise by a slight chronological correction by Dr. E. W. West,[1] who gives the years B.C. 660–583 as probably the exact date of Zoroaster so far as tradition is concerned. There is space here only to summarize; for details reference must be made to Appendix II., III.

The statements of antiquity on the subject may conveniently be divided into three groups.

First (1) to be considered are those references that assign to Zoroaster the extravagant age of B.C. 6000. These are confined simply to the classics, but they have a certain claim to attention because they are based upon information possessed by Aristotle, Eudoxus, and Hermippus.[2] These extraordinary figures are due to the Greeks' not having quite rightly understood the statements of the Persians who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles, and in accordance with this belief Zoroaster's *fravaši* had actually existed in company with the archangels for several thousands of years. Second (2) come those statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.[3] Third (3) the direct Zoroastrian tradition

[1] Personal letter, dated April 30, 1897, and in a published view with chronological table, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. 27–42. See Appendix III.

[2] The passages are given in full in Appendix II.; they are from Pliny, *H.N.* **30.** 2. 1; Plutarch, *Is. et Os.* 46; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I, 122; Diogenes Laertius, *de Vit. Philos.* Procem. 2; Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, and cf. Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres.*

[3] Cf. Diodorus Siculus, **2.** 6; Fragments of Cephalion in Euseb. *Chron.* **1.** 43 and **4.** 35; Theon, *Progymnasmata*, 9; Justin, from Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1; Arnobius,

which is found in the Pahlavi book Būndahishn **34.** 1–9 and supported by Arṭā Vīrāf **1.** 2–5 and Zāṭ-sparam **23.** 12, as well as corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, and others) unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's life (B.C. 323). As Zoroaster was thirty years old, according to the tradition, when he entered upon his ministry; and as he was seventy-seven years old at the time of his death; and, furthermore, since we may assume an omission of thirty-five years in the Būndahishn chronological list, according to West, we have good reason, on the authority of the tradition, for making B.C. 660–583 as the era of Zoroaster.

Tradition also says that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he converted King Vishtāspa, who became the patron of the faith. There is no good ground, however, for identifying this ruler with Hystaspes, the father of Darius. Such identification has indeed been made by Ammianus Marcellinus (**22.** 6. 32), and it has met with support from some; but the doubt on this point which was raised as early as Agathias (**2.** 24) is unquestionably well founded.[1]

Zoroaster's Native Place. — The question of Zoroaster's native place is a subject that has been much debated. The problem is more complicated because of the uncertainty which exists as to whether his birthplace and early home was necessarily also the chief scene of the teacher's activity. The whole matter may be brought under the heading of two inquiries: first (1), whether the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the west of Iran, in Atropatene and Media; second (2), whether

Adv. Gentes, 1. 5; Orosius, *Hist. contra Paganos* (Ninus); Suidas, s.v. *Zoroastres*. See Appendix II., V. Some incidental allusions connect Zoroaster's name with Abraham, Nimrod, Bel, Balaam. These also are quoted in Appendix II., V. below.

[1] Fuller discussion in West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. 38, and Jackson, *On the Date of Zoroaster*, *JAOS.* xvii. 17; Appendix II. below.

ancient Media was the scene also of his ministry, or are we to accept the claim of Bactria and eastern Iran? Possibly he may have taught in both lands. The subject is of interest, moreover, in the light of the recent important developments with regard to Buddha's birthplace, and the archæological finds which have lately contributed so much towards establishing the exact location where the gentle teacher of India was ushered into the world. Accordingly, the problem of Zoroaster's native place and then the possible scene of his ministry is discussed with considerable fulness in Appendix IV; it suffices merely to summarize here.

If we omit the question of his ministry for the moment and speak simply of his native place, we may say without much hesitation, that the consensus of scholarly opinion at this time is generally agreed in believing that Zoroaster arose in the west of Iran. Oriental tradition seems to be fairly correct in assigning, as his native land, the district of Atropatene or Ādarbaijān, to the west of Media, or even more precisely the neighborhood about Lake Urumiah. There is ground, furthermore, for believing in the tradition which says that his father was a native of Ādarbaijān, — a region of naphtha wells and oil fountains, — and that Zoroaster's mother was from the Median Raghā (Raī) — consult the map at the end of this volume. Explicit references for these statements will be found in Appendix IV. For the other problem, the one relating to the possible scene or scenes of Zoroaster's ministry, reference must be made to the extended discussion in the same appendix below. Here we need only bear in mind that there is every reason to believe that Zoroaster, for a time at least, wandered about in his missionary labors, and there is certainly a strong tradition to the effect that during the two opening years of his prophetic career he was for a while in the east, in Seistān, and also in Turan — see Map. One is reminded of the peregrinations of the Buddha.

Zoroaster's Ancestry and His Family. — The subject of gene-

alogy has not much interest for most readers, and a treatment of it is apt to recall the 'begat' chapters of the Biblical patriarchs. Nevertheless Zoroaster's line is not without importance, and it deserves to receive attention, as much as would the descent of Mohammed or of Buddha. If Indian legend and tradition in the case of the great Ganges teacher ascribes exalted origin from the princely family of the Sākyas, Iranian story is no less successful, for its part, in tracing Zoroaster's descent from a sort of royal Davidic line that ends in the house of Mānūshcīhar, sovereign of Iran,[1] or ascending still farther back through the forty-fifth generation to Gāyōmarṯ, the Iranian Adam, the father of all mankind.[2] The Prophet's more immediate ancestors are often referred to. Pourushaspa, the father, is mentioned several times in the Avesta and is frequently referred to in the Pahlavi texts and in the later Zoroastrian literature. The name of Zoroaster's mother is preserved in an Avestan fragment as Dughdhōvā (Phl. Dūghdāvō, Dūkdav or Dūkṯāūbō, Mod. Pers. Dughdū).[3] The name of Zoroaster's great-grandfather Haēcaṯ-aspa is mentioned in the Avesta (Ys. **46.** 15; **53.** 3), as is also the latter's sire Cikhshnush or Chākhshni (cf. Yt. **13.** 114); and Spitāma, the heros eponymus of the family, is referred to in the Gāthā allusions to the Prophet's kinsman Spitamāonhō (Ys. **46.** 15), whence his own appellative Zarathushtra Spitama, Zoroaster the Spitamid. The locus classicus for tracing Zoroaster's lineage is Būndahishn **32.** 1–2; it is supplemented by the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ **7.** 2, 70, the Selections of Zāṯsparam, **13,** 6, and by the Vijirkarṯ-ī Dīnīg; compare also the Nīrang-ī Bōīdāṯano va Yāṯkarṯano (*Grundriss* ii. 115).[4] The

[1] On Mānūshcīhar, cf. Peshotan Dastur, *Dīnkarṯ translated*, vol. vii. p. 429; cf. Yasht **13.** 131.

[2] Dk. **7.** 2. 70, Zsp. **13.** 5–6; cf. West, *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 34, 140, and *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 95.

[3] Hāṯokht Nask Frag. cited in Sad Dar **40.** 4 et passim; cf. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 302; xxxvii. 444, 469, 483; xlvii. (eight times); Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. 151; Zartusht Nāmah, p. 480 (in Wilson, *Parsi Relig.*) and Shahrastānī (see Appendix IV.).

[4] Consult West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, *SBE.* v. 140–141; *Grundriss*, ii. 94, 95, and *SBE.* xlvii. 34,

same ancestral tree, but with the names disguised or misread, is found in Masūdī.[1] The line as far back as Manush-cithra may be worth recording from the accessible sources.

Dk., Būndahishn, and cf. Zsp.	Vijirkarṭ-ī Dīnīg.	Masūdī.
Mānūshcihar[2]	Mānūshcihar,	Manūshihar, (منوشهر)
Dūrāsrōbō	Dūrāsrōb . .	Dūrashrīn . (دورشرين)
Aīrīc or Rajan	Rajishn . .	Iraj . . . (ارج)
Nayāzem or Ayăzem[3] . . .	Nayāzem . .	Hāīzem . . (هايزم)
Vaēdisht or Vīdasht . . .	Vaēdisht . .	Vāndast. . (واندست)
Spītām or Spītāmān . . .	Spītāmānŏ .	Isbīmān . . (اسبيمان)
Hardhăr (Kharedhar) . . .	Haridār . .	Hardār . . (هردار)
Arejadharshn or Hardarshn .	Hardrshn . .	Arḥadas . (ارحدس)
Paētrasp or Pāītīrasp . . .	Paētirasp . .	Bātīr. . . (باتير)
Cīkhshnūsh or Cakhshnūsh[4]	Cikhshnush .	Ḥakhīsh . (حخيش)
Haēcaṭăspō	Haēcaṭasp . .	Hajdasf . . (هجدسف)
Urugadhasp or Aurvadasp[6] .	Urvandasp .	Arīkdasf . (اريكدسف)
Paṭīragtarāspō or Paītirāsp[6] .	Paītirāsp . .	Faḍarasf . (فذرسف)
Pōrūshăspō	Pōrūshāspō .	Būrshasf . (بورشسف)
Zaratūsht	Zarātusht . .	Zarādusht . (زرادشت)

139. See likewise Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 160; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 687; de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii; Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 393.

[1] *Les Prairies d'or*, ii. 123, tr. Barbier de Meynard; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[2] Avesta, Yt. **13**. 131, *Manuš-ciθra*.

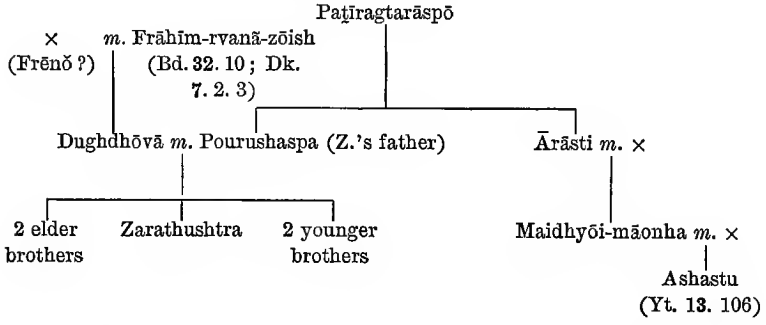
[3] Cf. also Dīnkarṭ **9**. 33. 5.

[4] Cf. Avesta, Yt. **13**. 114, *Cāχsni*.

[5] Zsp. **13**. 6 has *Ahūrvaḷāspō*.

[6] Dīnkarṭ, Bk. **7**. 2. 3, 70; Bd. **32**. 1; West, *Grundriss*, ii. 95, *SBE*. xlvii. 34, v. 140; or *Purtarāspō*, Zsp. **13**. 6, *op. cit.* p. 139.

Zoroaster's grandfather on the maternal side, according to Dk. 7. 2. 3 and Bd. 32. 10, was Frāhīm-rvanā-zōish or Frahim-rava; his maternal grandmother may have been called Frēnŏ (Zsp. 13. 1), but the passage is not quite clear. There are several allusions to his paternal uncle Ārāsti and to the latter's son, Maidhyōi-māonha, who was Zoroaster's cousin and first disciple (Yt. 13. 95; Bd. 32. 2 et passim). According to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster was one of five brothers. The passage states: 'Of the four brothers of Zaratūsht the names of the two before Zaratūsht were Ratūshtar and Rangūshtar, and of the two after him Nōṯarīgā and Nīvēṯish.'[1] But in each case the reading of the Pahlavi word is uncertain. A tabular statement of the Sage's family and kin may now be presented.[2]



Tradition furthermore states that Zoroaster was thrice married and had several sons and daughters, and that the three wives survived him (Bd. 32. 5–7; Vjkṯ. pp. 21–22). The names of the first wife and of the second are not preserved,[3] but the latter is said to have been a widow. By the first, or privi-

[1] Zsp. 15. 5. West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 144; cf. also *SBE.* v. 187, note.

[2] Cf. also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 393.

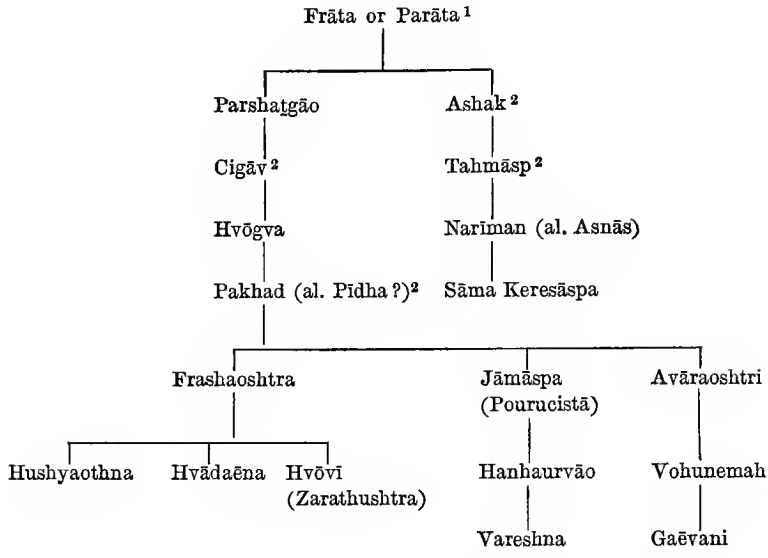
[3] See the information and corrections given by West, *Pahlavi Texts Translated*, *SBE.* v. 142–143, notes, and Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, s.v. 'Urwarwiĭa,' p. 334; Hölty, *Zoroaster und sein Zeitalter*, p. 93, Lüneburg, 1836. West (*SBE.* V. 143, n. 1) refers to the apparent misinterpretation which gives the names of Zoroaster's first two wives as *Urvij* and *Arnij-baredā;* consult his reference, especially as to the second wife.

leged wife, the Prophet had one son and three daughters. Their names are several times mentioned in the Avesta and in Pahlavi literature.[1] One of the daughters, Pourucistā (Ys. **53.** 3), was married to the wife Jāmāspa. The son Isaṯvāstra, by the second wife, became head of the priestly class and had a son, Ururvija, who is also mentioned by name (Bd. **32.** 7). Isaṯvāstra was likewise made guardian of the children of his father's second wife who had borne two sons, Urvataṯnara and Hvarecithra, to Zoroaster (Yt. **13.** 98). These two sons were respectively regarded as the head of the agricultural class and of the warrior caste. The third wife, Hvōvī, was the daughter of Frashaoshtra and niece to Jāmāspa, attachés to the court of Vishtāspa (Yt. **13.** 139; **16.** 15; Dk. **9.** 44. 16; **9.** 69. 58). By Hvōvī no earthly children were born, but she is the noble consort from whom ultimately are descended the future millennial prophets, Ukhshyaṯ-ereta, Ukhshyaṯ-nemah, and the Messiah, Saoshyant (Yt. **13.** 128). The marvels of this preternatural conception are narrated in detail in Bd. **32.** 8–9, cf. Yt. **13.** 62, 128, 141–2, and elsewhere. The later descent from Zoroaster's line may thus be tabulated: —

Children by first wife	Children by second wife	Children by Hvōvī
× *m.* Isaṯvāstra (son)	Hvarecithra (son)	(Not yet born)
Frēnī (daughter)	Urvataṯnara (son)	Ukhshyaṯ-ereta
Thritī (daughter)		Ukhshyaṯ-nemah
Pourucistā (daughter)		Saoshyant
Ururvija		

A genealogical tree of the Hvōvid family into which the Prophet married and into which family he gave a daughter in marriage will make clearer some of the connections and alliances that appear in the Avesta; it is therefore given on the following page: —

[1] Ys. **23.** 2, **26.** 5; Yt. **13.** 98, 139; Bd. **32.** 5 et passim; Zsp. **23.** 11.



Summary. — After noticing in this chapter the fact that Zoroaster was an Iranian, we briefly followed in outline the position of Iran in ancient history. We next saw that the oldest form of Zoroaster's name is given as Zarathushtra. The statement was then made that we have reason for believing that he arose in western Iran (Atropatene and Media) about the middle of the seventh century B.C. The scene of his ministry is a question that was reserved for later discussion. As was shown, a long line of ancestry can be traced out for him, and we know something of his immediate family through tradition. But we bid adieu to these external matters to deal with his life itself.

[1] After Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 396.

[2] Not mentioned in the Avesta.

CHAPTER III

EARLY LIFE AND RELIGIOUS PREPARATION

THE LIFE OF THE PROPHET UNTIL THE AGE OF THIRTY

yehe zqθaēca vaxšaēca
uštatātəm nimravanta
vīspå spəntō-dātå dāmąn.
—AVESTA, Yt. **13.** 93.

INTRODUCTION—PROPHECIES OF THE COMING OF ZOROASTER, AND THE MIRACLES BEFORE HIS BIRTH—BIRTH AND CHILDHOOD OF ZOROASTER ACCORDING TO TRADITION—ZOROASTER'S YOUTH AND EDUCATION—PERIOD OF RELIGIOUS PREPARATION—CONCLUSION

Introduction, Prophecies of the Coming of Zoroaster. — The coming of a prophet or great teacher seems at times in the world's history to be looked for instinctively. We may see the truth of this statement exemplified in our own Gospels when the disciple asks of the Saviour, 'Art thou he that should come, or do we look for another?' And when a blessed Master is at last recognized, the generations vie with each other in repeating how his advent was foretold. In the Zoroastrian scriptures, passages are adduced to show that the Sage's coming had been predicted ages before. In the Avestan Gāthās and in Pahlavi literature the soul of the mythical primeval bull, three thousand years before the revelation of the religion, beholds a vision in heaven of the *fravaši* or ideal image of the prophet Zarathushtra, Zaratūsht, that is to be.[1] Again, in the golden age of the world, King Yim (Jemshēd) forewarns the demons of their destined defeat and overthrow

[1] Ys. **29.** 8; Bd. **4.** 4–5; cf. Dk. **7. 2. 67.**

at the birth of the glorious manchild.[1] Lastly, in the reign of the patriarch ruler, Kaī Ūs, three centuries before the actual appearance of the hallowed saint, a splendid ox is gifted with the power of speech, so as to foretell the promised revelation which the future shall receive from the lips of Zaratūsht.[2]

Miracles before His Birth. — From the Avesta we also learn that the divine sacerdotal and kingly Glory (*hvarənah*) is handed onward from ruler to ruler, and from saint to saint, ever with a view to its illumining ultimately the soul of the inspired one.[3] It is ordained of heaven, moreover, that this Glory shall be combined with the Guardian Spirit (*fravaši*) and the Material Body, so as to produce from this threefold union the wonderful child.[4]

First, the Glory descends from the presence of Aūharmazd, where it abides in the eternal light; it passes through heaven down to earth; and it enters the house where the future Zaratūsht's mother herself is about to be born. Uniting itself with her presence it abides in her until she reaches the age of fifteen, when she brings forth her own first-born, the prophet of Iran. But before this event, as a girl she became so transcendent in splendor by reason of the miraculous nimbus of the Glory that resided in her, that, at the instigation of the demons, her father is convinced that she is bewitched, and he sends her away from his home to the country of the Spītāmas, in the district of Alāk or Arāk, to the village of Paṭīragtarāspō, whose son Pōrūshāspō (Av. Pourushaspa) she marries. The Glory is therefore upon earth, ready to appear in the form of man. Such at least is the scriptural account found in the Dīnkarṭ.[5]

Second, the archangels Vohūman and Ashavahisht, descending from heaven, convey to earth another of the three elements,

[1] Dk. 7. 2. 59–61; see West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 31.

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 62–69; Zsp. 12. 7–25.

[3] Yt. 19. 25–90; cf. also West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 30.

[4] Cf. Spend Nask Summary in Dk. 7. 14. 1 (*SBE.* xxxvii. p. 31); Dk. 7. 2. 2 seq.; Zsp. 13. 4 (*SBE.* xlvii. pp. 17, 139).

[5] Dk. 7. 2. 4–11; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 18–20.

the Guardian Spirit (Phl. *fravāhar*, Av. *fravaši*), bearing it in a stem of the Hōm-plant, the height of a man. For a time this precious stem is placed in the nest of two birds whose young have been devoured by serpents: it protects the brood and kills the reptiles. Thus it continues as a talisman in the keeping of the birds,[1] until required again by the archangels, and until Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa), who meanwhile had married Dūkṯāūb (Dughdhōvā), meets with the two presiding seraphim 'in the cattle-pasture of the Spītāmas' and receives from them the cherished rod, which he gives to his wife to preserve.[2] Much of all this, it is true, has a mythical ring or an allegorical note.

Third, the Substantial Nature (Phl. *gōhar*), or material essence, which completes the holy triad, is miraculously combined with the elements of milk, through the agency of water and the plants, or through the archangels Khūrdaṯ and Mūrdaṯ. The demons vainly seek to destroy this;[3] but the milk is mixed with Hōm and is drunk by the future prophet's parents. In this roundabout way the Pahlavi text accounts for the combination of the three elements, the glory, the spirit, and the body, and the child is conceived, despite the machinations of the demons.[4] Throughout the narrative the presence of an Oriental tendency to symbolism and ritualistic significance is manifest. The same story is repeated by the Arab writer Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153), and it is narrated again in the Dabistān.[5]

The pregnancy of the mother whose womb is hallowed to bear such fruit, is attended by occurrences equally remarkable and by circumstances astounding in their nature. These miraculous occurrences are told and interpreted in the Dīnkarṯ, Zāṯ-

[1] Have we here a reflex of the ancient Sanskrit myth of Soma and the Eagle?

[2] Dk. 7. 2. 22–35.

[3] Dk. 7. 2. 44–45.

[4] Dk. 7. 2. 36–72; Zsp. 13. 4.

[5] Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276 seq.; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 212 seq.

sparam, and Zartusht Nāmah, as well as recorded by Shahrastānī and repeated in the Dabistān.[1] We at once recall parallels in other nations.

Birth and Childhood of Zoroaster, according to Tradition. — The traditional source of information on the subject of the birth and early life of the Prophet, was originally the Spend Nask of the Avesta, which gave an account of the first ten years of Zoroaster's existence. Unfortunately this Nask has been lost; but its substance is worked into the Pahlavi literature, as is known from the summaries of the Nasks that we have in Pahlavi and in Persian;[2] and doubtless much of the actual material from it is preserved in the Dīnkarṭ, in the Selections of Zāṭ-sparam, and in the Modern Persian Zartusht Nāmah.[3] These works stand to Zoroastrianism somewhat as the Lalita Vistara to Buddhism. The general statements which are made in the following pages are based upon them, unless otherwise indicated, and the material they contain is supplemented by incidental allusions in such writers as Shahrastānī or in the Dabistān which draw from like sources.

These accounts of the birth and early life are largely legendary and they are colored by fancy. Some of them surpass in power of vivid imagination the stories that have gathered around Zoroaster's miraculous conception. But that need not awaken surprise. Legends have grown up about the birth and youthful years of Buddha,[4] and miraculous incidents are connected with the Mosaic Lawgiver. Persia is not behind in this.[5]

[1] Dk. **7**. 2. 53–55; Zsp. **14**. 1–5; ZtN. tr. Eastwick (Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 480–3).

[2] Dk. **8**. 14. 1–2; **9**. 24. 1–3; Pers. Riv. **2**. 13; Dīn-Vijirkarṭ, 13; see West, *Pahlavi Texts translated*, in *SBE.* xxxvii. pp. 31, 226–9, 425, 444, 469; also Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 276; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48; cf. next note.

[3] For translations, see West, *SBE.* vols. xxxvii. and xlvii. and Zartusht Nāmah, tr. by Eastwick in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 475–522. Constant use has been made of these translations.

[4] See Oldenberg, *Buddha*, p. 82 seq. (Eng. translation); Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, p. 38 seq.

[5] Some have even claimed that Mo-

In every religion the birth of its founder must be heralded by supernatural signs and omens and accompanied by wonders and prodigies. A star appears, a comet blazes forth, or the earth is shaken. In the Avesta all nature rejoices at Zoroaster's birth ; the very trees and rivers share in the universal thrill of gladness that shoots through the world ; while Ahriman and the terror-stricken demons take flight into the depths of earth.[1] His birth, moreover, is in answer to pious prayers addressed by his father to Haoma.[2] His fitness for the prophetic mission which he is to undertake is divinely recognized, and Ahura Mazda himself selects this inspired being as his own messenger to the world.[3] So much for the Avesta. The Pahlavi writings also do not tire of recounting how the fiends contended to prevent his birth ; how a divine light shone round the house ; and a shout of joy arose when life triumphed ; and especially they recount the loud laughter which burst from the child as he came into the world.[4] The tradition that Zoroaster laughed instead of crying at his birth is as old at least as Pliny ; it is current in Eastern writers and elsewhere.[5] Pliny at the same time adds that the child's brain throbbed so violently as

saic influences were at work in the Zoroastrian legends. See Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends and their Biblical Sources* in the *Independent* (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

[1] Yt. **13**. 93–94 ; Ys. **9**. 15 ; Yt. **17**. 19.

[2] Ys. **9**. 12–15; compare what was noted of the Hōm-branch above.

[3] Ys. **9**. 12–14 ; Yt. **17**. 18–20 ; Ys. **29**. 8 ; Yt. **5**. 17–18.

[4] Dk. **8**. 14. 2 ; **9**. 24. 1–10 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 31, 226–9, 469); and Dk. **7**. 2. 56–8 ; **5**. 2. 2 ; Zsp. **13**. 1–3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 30, 122, 139); and Shahrastānī (Gottheil, *References*, p. 49). Other references below. The Apocryphal N. T. *Protoevang.* **14**. 11–12, and I. *Infancy*, **1**. 10, give a legend of our Lord's birth in a cave which is divinely illuminated. In the Sanskrit *Kathāsaritsāgara* (i. 325, transl. Tawney), the room in which a wonderful child is born is illuminated by a strange light.

[5] Dk. **7**. 3. 2 and 25 ; Dk. **5**. 2. 5 ; Zsp. **14**. 12 and 16 ; cf. West, *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 35, 41, 123, 142, 143 ; ZtN. p. 483 ; Shahrastānī (Haarbrücker, i. 277, Gottheil, *References*, p. 49) ; Dabistān, i. p. 219, Mirkhond, tr. Shea, p. 286. Also Pliny, *H.N.* **7**. 16. 15 ; Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades;* Augustine, *de Civ. Dei*, **21**. 14 ; all cited below in Appendix V., VI. See likewise preface to the Icelandic Snorra Edda (Jackson, *PAOS.* xvi. p. ccxxvi. March, 1894. See Appendix VI.).

to repel the hand laid upon his head — a presage of future wisdom!

Demons and wizards — for all the opponents of Zoroaster are conceived to be such — instinctively now foresee their destined defeat and ruin and Zoroaster's own glorious ascendency.[1] They seek accordingly to compass the young child's death. They fail in their efforts just as the powers of evil had already failed when they strove to prevent his coming into the world. The heretical Kavis and Karpans (Phl. Kīgs and Karaps), who are apparently idolatrous priests,[2] are his especial foes. The Turanian Karap Dūrāsrōbō (Dūrāsarūn, Dūrānsarūn) is the Herod of the day.[3] His wicked partner and villanous accomplice is one Brātrōk-rēsh, whose name is ultimately connected with Zoroaster's death when the Prophet was of advanced age.[4] Brāṯrōk-rēsh is one of five Karap brothers: the names of the quintette are given as Brāṯ-rūkhsh, Brāṯ-rōyishn, Brāṯ-rēsh the Tūr (or Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh), Hazān, and Vadast.[5] The name of this Brāṯrōk-rēsh (or Brāṯar-vakhsh) occurs comparatively often in Pahlavi literature at least and it appears under a variety of forms.[6] The machinations of Dūrāsrōbō are particularly violent. It is only the intervention of a divine providence that saves the little Zaratūsht, while still an infant in the cradle, from having his head crushed in or twisted off by this fiendish man, or that wards off a pogniard stroke from the same hand which becomes withered as a punishment for its wicked attempt.[7] Some of the resemblances between this monstrous ruler and Pharaoh or Herod would not be uninteresting to trace if there were opportunity.

[1] Vd. 19. 46, and elsewhere.

[2] See West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 19.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 4–41, etc; cf. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 87, ZtN. p. 484, and see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 175 (Index).

[4] This would assign to Brāṯrōk-rēsh an extraordinary longevity. See p. 128 (d). Perhaps a descendant of his is referred to.

[5] Zsp. 15. 3; cf. Zsp. 17. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 143. 147). The reading of the names is not absolutely certain.

[6] See Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[7] Dk. 7. 3. 5–6; 5. 3, 2; Zsp. 15. 2–3; ZtN. p. 484; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

The malicious Dūrāsrōbō, moreover, is even successful for a time in making Pōrūshāspō afraid of his own son,[1] so that he does not prevent the machinations of those who are plotting against the young child's life. No angel is sent from heaven to tell his parents to take the child into another land. Four separate attempts at least are made to destroy the babe in spite of the mother's watchful alertness. An attempt is made, and not without the father's connivance, to burn the infant in a huge fire; but its life is saved by a miracle.[2] An endeavor is made by the sorcerers to have the babe trampled to death by a herd of oxen; the leading ox stands over the tiny prodigy and prevents it from perishing beneath the feet of the herd.[3] The same experiment is repeated with horses; the babe is rescued in the same marvellous manner.[4] Even wolves whose young have been killed do not harm a hair of the divine child's head; in their very den and lair he is suckled by a sheep.[5] The lion shall lie down with the lamb! In all these accounts, idealization is evidently at work. But after all we may perhaps imagine that a rationalistic background of truth possibly lies at the basis of each of these hairbreadth escapes of childhood's days magnified by coming ages. The allusion to exposure to a wolf throws light at least upon the conditions in the time at which the accounts were written.

Zoroaster's Youth and Education. — Before the boy's seventh year, his father Pūrshasp (as the Zartusht Nāmah calls him), knowing that even the demons and wizards[6] had predicted a great future for the youth, places the lad under the care of a wise and learned man, as the Zartusht Nāmah narrates.[7] The

[1] Dk. 7. 3. 7–8 seq.; Zsp. 16. 3–4; Dabistān, i. p. 219.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 9–10; Zsp. 16. 7; ZtN. p. 484.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 11–12; Zsp. 16. 4–5; ZtN. p. 485; Dabistān, i. p. 220.

[4] Dk. 7. 3. 13–14; Zsp. 16. 6–7; ZtN. p. 485–6; Dab. i. p. 220.

[5] Dk. 7. 3. 15–19; Dk. 5. 2. 4; Zsp. 16. 8–11; ZtN. pp. 486–7; Dab. i. pp. 220–221.

[6] We may conceive how the false teachers of the pre-Zoroastrian faith were looked upon as devils and necromancers.

[7] ZtN. p. 488. See also Dab. i. p. 224.

venerable teacher's name is then given as Burzīn-kurūs.[1] Pliny (*H. N.* **30. 2. 1**) seems to have understood from Hermippus that the name of Zoroaster's teacher was Aganaces (Azonaces), but the passage is not quite clear. See below, Appendix V. § 5.

In connection with the subject of Zoroaster's youthful days, it is proper to make passing mention at least of some Syriac and Arabic reports which connect his name with Jeremiah (or even with Ezra) and which make Zoroaster a pupil of Jeremiah, or even go so far as to identify him with Baruch, the latter's scribe.[2] These biassed accounts assert that the pupil proved treacherous to his master and was cursed by God with the affliction of leprosy. These passages are quoted elsewhere[3] and the most important are given below in Appendix IV.; it is not necessary therefore to cite them here nor to repeat how the identification probably arose from an erroneous connection of the name *Armiah* (Jeremiah) with *Urmiah* (Urumiah), Zoroaster's presumed birthplace; nor is it necessary to add how the name of *Zaratūsht* might become associated with the Hebrew *ṣara'ath* (*Zaraath*) 'leprosy,'[4] especially if Moslem influence wished to detract as much as possible from Persia's Sage.

The narratives given above are about all that we can gather in the way of tradition regarding Zoroaster's early youth and training. It is to be regretted that we do not know more of the moulding forces that were instrumental in forming so creative a mind; nor are we clear in every detail as to the conditions of the society in which he was brought up or in which he afterwards labored and taught. The picture which is sometimes vaguely outlined by the Gāthās or dimly suggested in the 'Younger Avesta,' or which one gains from a perusal of the

[1] Does this name contain a disguised form of Skt. *guru*, 'exalted teacher'? On the form *burzīn*, cf. Justi, *Namenbuch*, pp. 74, 490, and add pp. 168, 499 (*Kūru*, *Kurūs*).

[2] See Appendix II. pp. 165-166.

[3] See especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Arabic and Syriac Literature* (Drisler Classical Studies).

[4] Cf. Kohut, *Zoroastrian Legends*, the *Independent*, (N.Y.), March 19, 1891.

traditions in Pahlavi literature is not altogether a bright one, if we are to interpret, as one might interpret, the allusions to devil-worship and Daēvas (which recall the present Yezīdīs) and the references to the slaughter and maltreatment of the kine, a lack of morality, falsehood, oath-breaking, and personal impurity. These are among the many things to which Zoroaster turned his attention when his reformatory work began.

Tradition goes on to say that even when the lad had attained his seventh year,[1] the inimical Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh still continue to connive against him, to harass and assail him. By magic practices they endeavor to daunt his spirit, and they even attempt to destroy his body by poison.[2] It is evident that the real opposition and struggle which was later to arise in the Prophet's life between his own faith and the existing religion which it supplanted or reformed, is projected into the past and conceived of as a case of personal enmity and hatred already developed between the two representatives of the creed and the youthful Zoroaster.

If we are to judge at least from the later literature of the Pahlavi, black art and magic practices, occult science and necromancy were the order of the time. We seem to have a sort of background of Doctor Faustus and the Europe of the Dark Ages. Even Pōrūshāspō (Pourushaspa) himself is not free from the influence of the two sorcerers Dūrāsrōbō and Brāṯrōk-rēsh, with whom he not infrequently associates.[3] All these misguided persons, especially Dūrāsrōbō, are openly rebuked by Zaratūsht for their heresy, and are put to confusion by the young reformer when they endeavor to argue with him, much as Christ at the age of twelve disputes with the doctors in the temple, refutes their doctrines and vanquishes his opponents.[4]

[1] B.C. 653, according to West's calculations; see his table below, Appendix III.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 32–33; ZtN. pp. 488–9; Dab. i. pp. 226–7.

[3] Dk. 7. 3. 32–35.

[4] Dk. 7. 3. 34–43; Zsp. 17. 1–6; 18. 5–7; 19. 8; ZtN. pp. 489–90; Dab. i. pp. 228–9.

The plotting Dūrāsrōbō, as a punishment for his wickedness in endeavoring to thwart the righteous, comes to a violent end, as fearful as it is strange. The circumstances are described in the Dīnkarṭ and the Zāṭ-sparam Selections.[1] Zaratūsht is next confirmed in the true religious vows by assuming the 'Kustī,' or sacred thread, at the age of fifteen;[2] and when he attains this year of his life the wiles of the fiendish magicians are practically brought to naught.[3] The age of fifteen years, even as early as the Avesta,[4] is regarded as an ideal age or the age of majority. A passage in the Pahlavi texts tells that when Zaratūsht attained his fifteenth year[5] he and his brothers 'demanded a portion from their father, and their portions were allotted out by him.'[6] As a part of his share Zoroaster chooses a girdle; this signifies the sacred girdle of religion which he assumed.

Period of Religious Preparation; from his Fifteenth to his Thirtieth Year. — From his fifteenth year to the age of thirty the tradition is more meagre in its details. The period is a time not so much of action as it is a time of religious preparation. And yet the lapse of these fifteen years is not devoid of recorded incident. An occurrence to show Zaratūsht's compassionate nature and sympathy for the aged is quoted in the Selections of Zāṭ-sparam, and another is cited to illustrate his generous disposition by his dealing out fodder, from his father's supply, to the beasts of burden of others in a time of famine.[7] The Zartusht Nāmah substantiates this reputation given to him for tender-heartedness and for goodness.[8]

At the age of twenty the Zāṭ-sparam recounts that 'abandoning worldly desires and laying hold of righteousness' he departs from the house of his father and mother and wanders

[1] Dk. 7. 3. 44-45; Zsp. 19. 7-8; Dab. i. p. 229.

[2] The Brahmanical cord of India shows that this investiture was an ancient institution.

[3] Zsp. 20. 1-2; ZtN. p. 490.

[4] Ys. 9. 5.

[5] B.C. 645, according to West; see Appendix III. below.

[6] Zsp. 20. 1-4; West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 151.

[7] Zsp. 20. 4-6.

[8] ZtN. p. 490, ll. 11-25.

forth, openly inquiring thus: 'Who is most desirous of righteousness and most nourishing the poor?' And they spoke thus: 'He who is the youngest son of Aūrvaĭtŏ-dih, the Tūr.'[1] Zoroaster goes 'to that place' and lends his coöperation in serving the poor with food. A further example of his compassion, as the text says, 'not only upon mankind, but also upon other creatures,' is given in the same passage. A starving bitch who has five puppies is seen by him whose soul is stirred by every misery. Zoroaster hastens to bring some bread to her, but the creature is dead before he reaches her.[2]

Of a different nature, but none the less characteristic, is an incident narrated in the same connection in the chapter. The account declares that when he wished to marry, with the approval of his parents, and 'his father sought a wife for him,' he requested that the bride should show her face before being taken in marriage.[3] This incident seems to point to an idea of social progress and reform in customs that is equally characteristic of the modern Parsis.[4]

Zoroaster's readiness to learn, moreover, and to profit by what is good even in the teachings of the bad is illustrated by additional actions. On one occasion, upon inquiring in open assembly, what may be accounted as the most favorable for the soul, he is told, 'to nourish the poor, to give fodder to cattle, to bring firewood to the fire, to pour Hōm-juice into water, and to worship many demons.'[5] Zoroaster gives proof of his eclectic tendency by performing the first four of these injunctions as worthy of a righteous man to do; but demon-worship he absolutely denounces.

There are no other specific details in Pahlavi literature to fill up the period from this moment to the coming of the revelation

[1] Quotations from Zsp. 20. 8–9 (West's translation). It is to be noted that the father *Aūrvaītā-dang* himself, as well as his son ('progeny'), is alluded to in Dk. 7. 4. 7–8, after Zoroaster had received the revelation.

[2] Zsp. 20. 10–11, *SBE.* xlvii. 153.

[3] Zsp. 20. 12–13.

[4] One need only read Dosabhai Framji Karaka's *History of the Parsis.*

[5] Zsp. 20. 14–16.

when he was thirty years old. They were undoubtedly the years of meditation, reflection, and religious preparation that correspond to similar periods of divine communings and philosophic introspection in other religious teachers. Parallels might easily be cited. It is to this period of Zoroaster's life that the Scholiast of the Platonic Alcibiades apparently alludes when he relates that Zoroaster kept silent for seven years ;[1] and it is referred to by Pliny in the statement that for twenty years Zoroaster lived in desert places upon cheese.[2] According to Porphyrius and Dio Chrysostom, he passed his time upon a mountain in a natural cave which he had symbolically adorned in a manner to represent the world and the heavenly bodies.[3] The mountain is illuminated by a supernatural fire and splendor. Lightnings and thunders were about the summit of Sinai also, and clouds and thick smoke shrouded its sides, while the base of the mountain quaked violently, when the voice of the Lord spoke unto Moses.[4] The Avesta (Vd. **22.** 19) mentions the 'Forest and the Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones' — Ahura Mazda and Zarathushtra — where intercourse was held between the godhead and his prophetic representative upon earth. Ḳazwīnī calls this Iranian Sinai Mount Sabalān ;[5] Mirkhond similarly alludes to the mountains about the city of Ardabīl, and adds a quotation that is evidently drawn from the Avestan allusion to the adjoining river Darej.[6] A further

[1] Schol. ad Alcib. p. 122, *διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ' γεγενομένον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι* ; see below, Appendix V. § 1.

[2] Pliny, **11.** 42. 97. A 'desert with a temple for star-gazing' is also mentioned by Yāḳūt (vol. iii. p. 487), and this desert is called 'the desert of Zardusht, the head of the Magians' (Gottheil, *References*, p. 47 n.). For the milk diet of Zoroaster, compare also Plutarch, *Quaest. Conviv.* **4.** 1. 1. See Appendix V. §§ 5, 6, for the quotations.

[3] Dio Chrysostom, *Borysth. Orat.* xxxvi. and Porphyrius *de Antro Nymph.* **6.** 7, *Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος.* App. V. gives text in full. The passage is of special interest in regard to the Mithra cult, in which caves and mountains played a particular part. See Windischmann, *Mithra*, Ahh. f. k. d. Morg. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857 ; also *Zor. Stud.* p. 312.

[4] Exodus xix. 3–18. Cf. also Spiegel, *EA.* i. 697 ; and Darab Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 205.

[5] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40.

[6] Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr.

suggestion on the localization is offered below. Magian worship on the high mountains is familiar from the time of Herodotus (1. 131 seq.) onward.[1]

This time of early retirement and seclusion must have been the period in which Zoroaster fought out the fight that raged in his own bosom and in which he began to solve the problem of life, the enigma of the world, and the question of belief, as his religion solved it. Here he doubtless began also to formulate the first general truths out of which his religious system was evolved. It is the stillness of the forest or of some lone retreat that lifts the soul into communion with nature and with God. The long retirement and separation from men, the hours of meditation, introspection and abstraction, had brought the material frame into complete subjection, no doubt, and had lifted the spiritual body into a realm of ecstatic rapture and transcendent exaltation which prepared it for prophetic vision. At this moment came the Revelation and the first of the seven hallowed manifestations which only a soul inspired by the fervor of religious ecstasy was entitled to behold.

Conclusion. — The first few years of the life of Zoroaster are represented by a series of miraculous events which tradition has fancifully colored. When he becomes of age he retires from the world for a number of years which were doubtless given to meditation and religious preparation. At thirty the Revelation comes, and he enters upon his ministry.

Shea, p. 286, Zoroaster says 'this volume (the Zend-Avesta) has descended to me from the roof of the house which is on that mountain (cf. Vd. 19. 4. 11; Bd. 20. 32; 24. 15; Zsp. 22. 12); see Appendix IV. pp. 194, 195, 201.

[1] One need only recall Behistān (*Baghastāna) 'place of the Godhead.'

CHAPTER IV

THE REVELATION

ZOROASTER'S SEVEN VISIONS AND THE FIRST TEN YEARS OF THE RELIGION

'You long to chase, uncaptured yet,
The young wild-fire of Shelley's mind,
And how your Zoroaster met
His shadow in the garden, find.'
— GEORGE E. WOODBERRY.

INTRODUCTORY SURVEY — SOURCES OF INFORMATION AND WHAT WE GATHER FROM THEM — 'THE REVELATION' — FIRST VISION, CONFERENCE WITH AHURA MAZDA — SECOND VISION, VOHU MANAH — SCENES AND CIRCUMSTANCES OF THE REMAINING VISIONS AND CONFERENCES WITH THE ARCHANGELS — THE TEMPTATION OF ZOROASTER — MAIDHYŌI-MĀONHA, HIS FIRST DISCIPLE — CONCLUSION

Introductory Survey. — The quickening spirit is now ready to bring forth the first fruit of its long labor. At the age of thirty comes the divine light of revelation, and Zoroaster enters upon the true pathway of the faith. It is in this year[1] that the archangel of Good Thought, Vohu Manah, appears unto Zarathushtra in a vision and leads his soul in holy trance into the presence of God, Ahura Mazda. The year of this first inspired revelation is known in the Pahlavi texts as 'the Year of the Religion,' and there are numerous allusions here and elsewhere to the fact that Zoroaster was thirty years of age at the time.[2] Parallels for the beginning of his ministry at this

[1] B.C. 630, according to tradition as calculated by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and see Appendix III. below.

[2] Dk. 7. 3. 51; 8. 14. 3; Zsp. 21. 1; ZtN. p. 490; also Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 153, tr. Barbier de Mey-

age are not far to seek. During the ten years that follow this apocalyptic vision, Zoroaster has seven different conferences with Ahura Mazda and the six Amesha Spentas.

Many events occurred during this time, and a number of marvellous incidents are recounted in connection with this opening period of his prophetic career, as narrated in the Dīnkart, Zāt-sparam, Zartusht Nāmah, and elsewhere. His teaching does not seem at the outset to have met with favor. Reforms come slowly and the ground must be prepared. Ten years elapsed — years of wandering and struggle, of hope and dejection, of trial and temporary despair — before he won his first convert. This zealous adherent is his own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mētyō-māh), who is often mentioned in the Avesta and other writings.[1] He is a very different character from Buddha's traitorous and schismatic cousin Devadatta, and he stands as the St. John of Zoroastrianism. Finally, in the twelfth year of the Religion,[2] Kavi Vishtāspa (Phl. Kaī Vishtāsp, Mod. Pers. Gushtāsp) is converted and becomes the Constantine of the Faith — the Rājā Bimbisāra, if not the Asoka, of Buddhism. After the king adopts the Creed, many conversions follow, and the Prophet's own family, relatives, and friends are frequently referred to in the Avesta and elsewhere as having become faithful adherents and believers.

All these events have so important a bearing that they must be discussed in detail. A sort of synoptic view may be gained by gathering together various pieces of the scattered material and by combining stray allusions into a connected narrative. A consecutive account of the occurrences is therefore here attempted, but it must frankly be stated that the exact

nard; cf. *JAOS.* xvii. p. 10; Schol. to Platonic *Alcibiades* I, p. 122 (Ζωροάστρην) *μετὰ λ' χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας*; see Appendix V. § 1 (Plato) below.

[1] Cf. Yt. 13. 95; Ys. 51. 19; Bd. 32. 2; Dk. 9. 44. 19; Zsp. 21. 3; 23. 1, 8, 11; Syriac *Book of the Bee* (A.D. 1250), p. 81, ed. Budge, in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Semitic Series, Oxford, 1886.

[2] B.C. 618 of the tradition, West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

sequence of events is sometimes difficult to determine with precision. Caution may be used in accepting the results without qualification, as they cannot be freed from subjective tendencies. Nevertheless they represent in general outline the tradition. So much by way of introduction.

Sources of Information and what we gather from them. — The sources from which we obtain material to fill up the first period after the Revelation, the ten or twelve years that elapsed until the meeting between Zoroaster and King Vishtāspa, and the latter's conversion, are the same as have already been described. But now that we have reached the real period of Zarathushtra's prophetic career this material may be augmented in a special manner by the Gāthās or Zoroastrian Psalms. Like the Psalms of David these often indicate situations or conditions in a more or less direct manner, so that they help very much in drawing inferences.

From our various sources of information two facts may be gathered with certainty: one is, that after receiving the Revelation Zoroaster wandered about, as the dervishes of Iran still wander, going from place to place in search of a fruitful soil for his teaching; the other is, that during this period, like the prophets of old, he was inspired from time to time by supernatural visions and manifestations. The truth of both assertions is proved by the Avesta and the Pahlavi texts, and it is substantiated by Arabic and Syriac writers.[1]

The Arab writer Ṭabarī, who calls Zoroaster a disciple of Jeremiah and speaks of him as a native of Palestine, goes on to state in the course of his history that 'he wandered to Ādarbaijān and preached there the Magian religion; and from there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh.'[2] The chronicler Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. thirteenth century), who incor-

[1] Among Avestan passages compare Ys. **31**. 8; **43**. 5 seq.; **46**. 1 seq. and others to be noted below in connection with the Pahlavi and Arabic.

[2] For the full quotation, see Gottheil, *References*, p. 37, and compare also Appendix IV. p. 198 below, where comments are made.

porated much of Ṭabarī into his own work, is able to add that, preaching from his sacred book, the Avesta, '(Zardusht) went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia); but no one understood what was in it. Thence he wandered to India and offered it (the Avesta) to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to slay him.[1] From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp, son of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa), who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[2] This statement like the preceding is more fully discussed in Appendix IV. in its relation to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry. Such passages have the value at least of showing the existence of a tradition to the effect that Zoroaster wandered about as an itinerant teacher until fortune led him to Vishtāspa. Zoroaster was performing the part of one of those Āthravan priests to whom the Avesta alludes as 'coming from afar.'[3] Nor may his wanderings have been fruitless, for no doubt the seed that had been sown in these places did not prove barren but sprang up later when Zoroastrianism began to spread as the state religion over Iran.

But to return to Pahlavi literature and to Zoroastrian writings. The Zartusht Nāmah says: 'When Zoroaster attained his thirtieth year, he was relieved from danger and his works bare fruit. His heart was directed to Iran. He left his place in company with some others. Of those, some who were his relations accompanied him on this journey.'[4] On the way the party passes through a sea whose waters are lowered by a miracle so as to allow a free crossing.[5] They travel forward more

[1] Query. Have we here a reminiscence of Aūrvāītā-dang the Tūr, Dk. 7. 4. 7–14?

[2] Gottheil, *References*, p. 39.

[3] Cf. Eugen Wilhelm, *Priester und Ketzer im alten Eran*, in *ZDMG.* xliv. 143–144.

[4] ZtN. p. 490.

[5] ZtN. p. 490. This would be appropriate to Lake Urumiah, judging from the description given by Curzon, *Persia*, i. 533–5; Spiegel (*EA.* i. 694) suggests Lake Sevan.

than a month until they reach the confines of Iran. This day, according to the Pahlavi Zāṯ-sparam as well as the Zartusht Nāmah, was the last day 'Anērān of the month Spendarmaṯ (February 14–March 20)' — so precise is tradition.[1] Their destination, as the Zāṯ-sparam indicates, is the place 'where people went from many quarters out to the place of festival (*jašnŏcār*).'[2] The occasion is the celebration of the spring-tide festival. It seems to be a sort of annual religious convocation that they attend. We may remember in this connection that Gabriel revealed himself to Mohammed at the celebration of Ramaḍān. Thus Zoroaster, when halting in a plain of a river called Aēvatāk (one of the four branches of the Dāityā), receives the first premonition and manifestation of what is to come. It is a vision of the approach of a victorious army headed by his cousin Mēṯyōmāh coming northwards to join him.[3]

The Revelation — First Vision — Conference with Ahura Mazda. — The auspicious hour is at hand. The archangel Vohu Manah (Phl. Vohūman) is to reveal himself to Zoroaster. At dawn on the forty-fifth day of the Prophet's journey, or the 15th instant (Dadvō-pavan-Mitrō) of the month Arṯavahishtō (*i.e.* May 5) of the thirty-first year of the reign of Vishtāsp,[4] the Revelation comes.[5] Tradition takes delight in making exact statements. The scene where this event occurred is laid on the banks of the Dāitī (Av. Dāityā) — the Jordan of Zoroastrianism — a river in Aīrān-Vēj or Ādarbaijān.[6] The position

[1] Zsp. **21**. 1; ZtN. pp. 490–1. On the correspondence between the month Spendarmaṯ and our calendar, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33.

[2] Zsp. **21**. 1 (West's translation), *SBE.* xlvii. 155. So also ZtN. pp. 490–91, and Dabistān, i. p. 230.

[3] Zsp. **21**. 2, 3; cf. Dk. **7**. 3. 51. The Zartusht Nāmah (p. 491) is more elaborate in its details. Notice also the Dabistān, i. pp. 230–1.

[4] Arṯavahisht corresponds to April 20–May 19. The day, therefore, would be May 5. On the month, compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–34. The year would be B.C. 630. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 45, and Appendix III. below.

[5] Zsp. **21**. 4; **22**. 2; ZtN. p. 491.

[6] Dk. **7**. 3. 51; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. **21**. 4, 'the Dāītīh, because it is the river of the conference, etc.'; Zsp. **21**.

of this river is discussed below in Appendix IV. p. 211; it is represented perhaps by the modern Ḳizel Ūzen and its tributaries, which merges into the Spēd River of Ādarbaijān. It is crossed by Zoroaster at four different depths, or more probably he fords four different streams. These crossings symbolically represent four different eras in the history of the religion.[1] At the dawn, therefore, of the day named, as he stands upon the bank of the third channel, Aēvatāk, of the river Dāitī, after bringing up the holy Hōm-water, Zaratūsht suddenly beholds a glorified image of the archangel Vohūman (Good Thought) coming toward him from the south, and bearing in his hand a glossy staff — 'the spiritual twig of the religion (*maīnōg tāk-ī dēnō*).'[2]

In a brief space of time, as he reaches the fourth affluent, Aūshān-rūṯ, of the good Dāitī, the image of Vohūman becomes a realization, and a transcendent figure of colossal proportions, 'nine times as large as a man,' rises before him, reminding us somewhat of the great image that arose before Daniel, by the side of the river which is Hiddekel.[3] Vohūman opens his lips and begins to question the enrapt seer, — this situation is alluded to in the Avestan Gāthās, — and after bidding him to lay aside his 'garment' (or the vesture of his material body), the seraphic messenger leads away his soul in ecstatic trance into the glorious and dazzling presence of Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands.[4]

No sooner does Zaratūsht enter this radiant assembly than he ceases to behold 'his own shadow upon the ground, on account of the great brilliancy of the archangels'; and, as the words of the text continue, 'the position of the assembly was in

13, 'the position of the assembly was in Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāitīh' (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 157). Again, ZtN. p. 491.

[1] Zsp. **21.** 6–7; ZtN. pp. 491–2; Dab. i. 231–2.

[2] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–53; Zsp. **21.** 2, 5, 6 (West); ZtN. p. 492; Dab. i. 232–3.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 54; Zsp. **21.** 8–9. Cf. Daniel x. 4–21. I am furthermore indebted to Dr. Thomas Davidson, through my friend Mr. William Ross Warren, of New York, for some interesting hints and suggestions as to Daniel parallels.

[4] Compare Ys. **43.** 5 seq. with Dk. **7.** 3. 55; Zsp. **21.** 9–10.

Iran, and in the direction of the districts on the bank of the water of the Dāitīh.'[1] He offers homage to Aūharmazd and the Amshaspands, saying: 'Homage to Aūharmazd, and homage to the archangels'; and then, as the passage adds, 'he went forward and sat down in the seat of the enquirers.'[2] The door of heaven having thus been opened, and the favored of the godhead having been ushered in, the first and most important of all the conferences is begun. The Supreme Being himself presides; the Prophet is instructed in the great cardinal doctrines of the Faith, by the Omniscient Wisdom; and thrice in the same day the beatific vision is repeated.[3] Marvellous signs are shown unto Zoroaster, and he is initiated into sublime secrets by ordeals which symbolize future epochs and crises in the history of the Creed.[4] The circumstances of the first vision of God are at least hinted at in the Gāthās,[5] which makes us still more regret the loss of the original Nasks; but the details are elaborated in Pahlavi literature and in Persian Zoroastrian writings which are probably based upon the older material.[6]

The Next Two Years — Zoroaster begins Preaching. — On the completion of the first conference and Zoroaster's return to earth he proceeds to obey Aūharmazd's command by teaching and prophesying, for the next two years, to the ruling heretical priests, Kīgs and Karaps, or the Kavis and Karpans, so often mentioned in the Gāthās. These are the 'blind and deaf to the Law,' as the commentary describes them. They are the accursed band of unbelievers, or, to use the words of one of the Gāthās, —

> The Kavis and the Karpans have united themselves with power
> For destroying the life of man by their evil deeds;

[1] Zsp. **21**. 13 (West's translation); cf. also Dk. **7**. 3. 60-61.

[2] Quotations from Zsp. **21**. 14 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. **21**. 21.

[4] Zsp. **21**. 15-27; ZtN. p. 494. Compare also Bahman Yasht **1**. 1 seq. (West, *SBE*. v. 191 seq.).

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **31**. 8; **45**. 8, and cf. **43**. 5 seq.

[6] Zsp. **21**. 15-27; ZtN. pp. 492-5; Dab. i. pp. 233-4.

But their own soul and their religion will make them howl
When they come where the Bridge of the Accountant hereafter is,
To be inmates for ever and ever in the House of Falsehood. (*i.e.* Hell)![1]

To these Zoroaster preaches the Mazda-worshipping religion, and the necessity of anathematizing the Demons, of glorifying the Archangels, and practising the next-of-kin marriage (*xvētūkdas*).[2] But in vain.

Zoroaster seeks the Turanian sovereign Aūrvāītā-dang, whose son has been mentioned above. This potentate, whom the Pahlavi text calls 'scanty-giver,' protects the Missionary, but refuses to be converted to the Creed and to follow its tenets, while his nobles are 'clamorers for Zaratūsht's death.' Curses are heaped upon him as a consequence.[3]

Zaratūsht at the bidding of Aūharmazd next visits a Karap, one Vaēdvōisht by name, whom God has blessed with this world's goods. He demands from the Karap a hundred youths, maidens, and teams of four horses, as a gift for the Almighty. An arrogant rebuff greets the Prophet of the Lord, and he flees for refuge to Aūharmazd and receives from him the comforting assurance of the fearful punishment by death eternal which shall be summarily meted out upon the proud offender for his misdeed.[4] And so also Elijah pronounced the doom of King Ahaziah because he recognized not that there is a God in Israel!

The fate of this Karap offender recalls some of the anathema passages in the Gāthās and that visitation of wrath, both here and hereafter, which these Psalms call down upon powerful and stubborn unbelievers.[5] To the same crew as Vaēdvōisht doubtless belong that creature of Satan, Hunu, if the word is a proper name,[6] and the infidel Usij, who, like the Karap, is a

[1] Ys. **46**. 11; cf. also Ys. **32**. 12, 15; **44**. 20; **48**. 10; **51**. 14.

[2] Dk. **7**. 4. 1–5; cf. also West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 95.

[3] Dk. **7**. 4. 7–20.

[4] Dk. **7**. 4. 24–28.

[5] *E.g.* Ys. **44**. 19.

[6] Ys. **51**. 10; cf. Phl. version. So Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 354–355; Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 247, 234. Differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 334; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 132, reads *Hunuštar*.

representative of heretical priestcraft,[1] or again such miscreants as the perverse Grēhma, Bēndva, and Vaēpya Kevīna, who are anathematized in the Zoroastrian Psalms.[2] It was unhappy incidents like these and encounters with stiff-necked unbelievers who stopped their ears and refused to receive the healing word of the great Revelation, which the Prophet knew he was offering, that led to the embittered outpourings which we find in lines of the Gāthās. Such rebuffs could not but produce times of despondency and distress, an echo of which we hear lingering in these Hymns. Zarathushtra more than once breaks forth with a cry against such rulers and powerful lords who use not their sovereignty for the protection of the righteous and for the advancement of virtue. If it were not so, he would not thus have found himself a wanderer knowing not whither to turn.[3] Yet hope is mingled with discouragement, and yet again despair with expectation. We next find Zoroaster a long way off to the south and southeast of Iran in the land of Seistān. Consult the Map.

After failing with Vaēdvōisht, Zaratūsht receives comfort and direction from Aūharmazd. He takes his pilgrim path and missionary road to one 'Parshaṯ,' a ruler whose title is given as 'Tōrā' (Bull), and who dwells 'at the end of Sagastān' (Seistān).[4] This territory borders upon Afghānistān and Balūchistān, and by the expression 'end of Sagastān' may be meant somewhere in the region of Ghaznī.[5] A curious story is

[1] Ys. **44**. 20; cf. Phl. version and Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, pp. 216–217; also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 289 (3d ed.); Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 294.

[2] Ys. **32**. 12–14; **49**. 1–2; **51**. 12. It is not certain, however, that Grēhma and Bēndva really are proper names. Vaēpya Kevīna, of evil fame, is called 'the Kaī sodomite Akht, the heretic of dark existence,' in Dk. **9**. 44. 14; cf. Phl. Ys. **50** (**51**). 12, and compare also Akhtyō of Yt. **5**. 82, and consult the references given by Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 13*a*, and *Iranische Religion* in *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 245–247.

[3] Compare, for example, the *Kām nemōi ząm* Gāthā, Ys. **46**. 1 seq., and Geiger in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 171–175.

[4] Dk. **7**. 4. 31.

[5] So Dr. West (letter), and see his note on Dk. **7**. 4. 31. In this connection we may recall a statement of Am-

now told to show the virtue of Hōm-water from the Iranian Jordan, or river Dāitī (Av. Dāityā). With the name Parshaṯ-tōrā we may compare the Avestan Parshaṯ-gāu.[1] This Parshaṯ begs for some of the holy Dāityā water. From what follows it is evident that Zoroaster must have combined with the mission of gospel teaching some claims also to medical skill and practice in healing. He first bids Parshaṯ to praise righteousness, to curse the demons, and openly to profess the Faith. Parshaṯ carries out the former two injunctions, but he fails to comply with the third by adopting the Creed. Zaratūsht therefore does not fulfil his request, but passes on, and by means of the Hōm-water which had not been bestowed upon the weakling, he cures a four-year-old bull that had lost its virile power.[2] The name of Parshaṯ disappears from sight.

The entire allusion to Seistān is of interest in connection with the Prophet's wanderings to remote places and to lands far distant from his home. Two facts also are recalled by it: first, the territory of Seistān is the place of origin of the Kayanian dynasty to which King Vishtāspa belongs; second, the scene cannot have been far removed from that seat of stiff-necked unbelief, the home of Rustam. Certain it is, that one of Vishtāspa's earliest missionary efforts after his own conversion was in the direction of this very scene where Zoroaster's earlier endeavor had been unsuccessful with Parshaṯ, the Bull, who dwelt 'at the end of Sagastān.'[3] From what comes after, it appears that the Prophet now journeyed back, perhaps by a round-about way, towards his own home, for we next find him

mianus Marcellinus, **23**. 6. 33, which associates Zoroaster's name with the northern territory of India—*superioris Indiae;* see Appendix V. § 22, also p. 72, n. 3, p. 87, n. 1, and the remarks on 'White India' in Appendix IV. p. 207, n. 2.

[1] Yt. **13**. 96. 127, and see West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 57; cf. also Parshaṯ-gāvō in Dk. 9. 24. 17, *SBE.* xxxvii. 230.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 29–35 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 57–58).

[3] On the propaganda in Seistān, compare the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' referred to by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, and translated for me by Dr. West; also the Shāh Nāmah allusions; see below, Crusades (Chap. IX.).

in the northwest, in the region to the south of the Caspian Sea (cf. Map), proceeding apparently on his way to his native land of Ādarbaijān.

Second Vision — Conference with Vohu Manah. — In the seven or eight years that follow the first vision of the empyrean throne and the first communing with Ormazd, Zoroaster enjoys the divine favor of six more conferences individually with the six Archangels. We know of these from fragmentary accounts of the lost Avestan Nasks, or sacred books, and we have descriptions of them in Pahlavi literature, especially in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam.[1] They are attested also in Yasna **43** of the Gāthās and elsewhere in the Avesta. The interviews, questionings, or revelations occur in different places and at different times. The period of the ten years from thirty to forty in the Prophet's life was a time of great spiritual activity as well as of energetic labor. His soul lives partly in the world beyond the present; he sums up within himself the generation of those whose young men saw visions and whose old men dreamed dreams. As the veil is withdrawn from before his eyes the several Archangels appear at different times before his entranced sight. Each Amshaspand enjoins upon him special moral duties and practical obligations including particularly the guardian care of material or living things over which they preside in the physical world — the animals, fire, metals, earth, water, and plants.

The first of these seraphic manifestations, or the second revelation from heaven, is a conference with the archangel Vohūman, or Vohu Manah of the Avesta, who intrusts to the Lord's chosen minister the care and keeping of useful animals, for Vohu Manah's name, even in the Gāthās, is especially associated with the protection of the animal kingdom.[2] Accord-

[1] Zsp. **22**. 1–13. Add also Dk. **8**. 14. 2–9; ZtN. p. 495–8; Dab. i. 232–44.

[2] Zsp. **22**. 3–6; ZtN. p. 495; Dab. i. p. 240. And for the association of Vohu Manah's name with the care of cattle in the Gāthās, see Geiger, *Eastern Iranians*, transl. Darab D. P. Sanjana, i. p. xxxv.

ing to the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, the scene of this special interview granted by Vohūman to Zaratūsht, and the giving of injunctions to the inspired Seer, is laid in the region of Iran to the south of the Caspian Sea or in the Alborz mountains, for the text designates it as 'the conference on Hūgar and Aūsind,' which are regarded as two peaks of that range.[1]

Third Vision — Conference with Asha Vahishta. — The third interview is 'a conference at the Tōjān water';[2] this is held with the archangel Arṯavahisht, who enjoins upon Zoroaster the care of the Fire and the guardianship of all fires, sacred and secular.[3] The place where this apparition comes to the Prophet is to the south of the Caspian Sea and somewhat to the east, if I am right in identifying 'the Tōjān water' with the river Tajan (lat. 36–37 ; long. 55–56) — see the key to the Map.[4] This identification would agree well with the region of the preceding vision and with the probable situation of the following.[5] The territory, I believe, is volcanic in its character, which would also answer to the kingdom of fire over which Asha Vahishta is the presiding genius.

Fourth Vision — Conference with Khshathra Vairya. — The fourth ecstatic trance which is vouchsafed to the Seer brings him into the presence of the archangel Shatvēr (Av. Khshathra Vairya), who assigns to him the care and keeping of metals. The scene of this manifestation is not absolutely identified. The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam call the interview the 'conference

[1] Zsp. **22**. 3. From the Avesta we know that Mount Hukairya (Av. *Hukairya Barəzah*) is a peak of Hara Berezaiti (the Alborz chain) ; and Aūsind (Av. *Us Hindva*) stands in the Sea Vourukasha (Caspian Sea). Compare notes by West, *SBE.* v. 35, and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 584.

[2] So Zsp. **22**. 7 (West's translation).

[3] Zsp. **22**. 7 ; ZtN. p. 496 ; Dab. i. p. 241,

[4] Consult also the maps in J. de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse, Cartes*, Paris, 1897. Cf. Curzon, *Persia*, i. 378, and his map.

[5] In a note on the passage, West (*SBE.* xlvii. 161, n. 2) doubtfully suggests the Tejend River ; but if so, that would be the only instance of a vision being manifested in territory so far to the east. See also my next proposed identification.

at Sarāī (?), a settlement on the Mīvān (?).'[1] Dr. West draws attention to the fact that his reading of these names is uncertain and that he has not identified the places. I should venture to suggest that we are still in the South Caspian region, in the mountainous territory not far removed from the scene of the preceding interview. On the same river Tajan, that has just been alluded to, is the town of Sarī, to the east of Barfrush (see Map), which would correspond to the settlement Sarāī of the text, especially if there be mines in the neighborhood under Khshathra Vairya's dominion. The territory is Mazanderān, but we know that Zoroaster, dervish-like, wandered also in the country of fiends, demon-worshippers, and wicked unbelievers before he met with the one truly righteous king and protector.[2]

Fifth Vision — Conference with Spenta Ārmaiti. — For the fifth transcendent manifestation we must trace our way over various districts and provinces to the region of Lake Caēcista (mod. Urumiah), or back into Ādarbaijān.[3] From Zāṯ-sparam we know that this interview took place there, because the text states, that 'for the occurrence of the fifth questioning, which is Spendarmaṯ's, the spirits of the regions, frontiers, stations, settlements, and districts, as many as were desirable, have come out with Zaratūsht to a conference where there is a spring which comes out from the Asnavad mountain, and goes into the Dāītīh.'[4] Mount Asnavad, which is found also in the Avesta and is famous likewise as having been the seat of the Gūshnasp fire, is unquestionably to be localized in Ādarbaijān.[5] It is not to be confused with the 'Mountain of the two Holy Communing Ones,' described above (p. 34). As a likely identifica-

[1] Zsp. **22**. 8; see West, *SBE*. xlvii. 161, note 4.

[2] In offering this conjecture I am not unmindful of Sarāī near Bakū (see Saint-Martin, *Nouveau Dict. de Géographie*, v. 668); and Sarāī near Bokhara; Sarāī in India; and Sarain in Ādarbaijān; also Sarī near Marand in De Goeje, *Bibl. Geogr. Arab*, vi. 91, 213.

[3] Zsp. **22**. 9; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[4] Zsp. **22**. 9, West's translation.

[5] For references, see West, *SBE*. xlvii. 161, n. 5; and Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. i. 152–154; ii. 299, 620; cf. also Justi, *Hdb. der Zendsprache*, s.v. *asnavat*, where an identification with Takht-i Suleimān is mentioned.

tion I should suggest that the Mountains of Sahend (lat. 37.50; long. 46.50—see Map, square Bb.) would answer the requirements of the text here and elsewhere. Waters from a 'spring' on the mountain side might well flow in the manner described by the text if the Dāitīh be associated with the Ḳizel Ūzen and Spēd (Sefīd), as already proposed (pp. 40–41).

Sixth Vision — Conference with Haurvatāt. — The scene of the next hallowed interview is laid at the same place, near Lake Urumiah, and it may best be described by using again the words of the Zāṯ-sparam itself: 'For the occurrence of the sixth questioning, which is Khūrdaṯ's (Av. Haurvatāt), the spirits of seas and rivers have come with Zaratūsht to a conference at the Asnavad mountain, and he was told about the care and propitiation of water.'[1] Like the preceding interview the location therefore is Ādarbaijān.

Seventh Vision — Conference with Ameretāt. — The seventh and last enraptured sight, which completed the Revelation, is a vision accompanied by a conference with the guardian divinity of the plants, Amūrdaṯ (Av. Ameretāt).[2] This is not confined to a single spot, but Ādarbaijān is the scene. To quote the words of tradition, it occurred 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja, on the bank of the water of Dāītīh, and different places.'[3] The Dareja or Darej is the ancestral river of Zoroaster, and it is to be localized in Ādarbaijān, as discussed above and in Appendix IV. In the same appendix, reasons are given for localizing the Dāītīh (Av. Dāityā) in Ādarbaijān.[4] Consequently, Zoroaster must gradually have found his way back to his home, and the scene of the final interview must have been in this territory, although the expression 'different places,' applied to the interview with Amūrdaṯ would seem to show that the questionings with this archangel were not confined to these two sites alone.

[1] Zsp. 22. 11 (West's translation), and cf. ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 242.

[2] Zsp. 22. 12; ZtN. p. 497; Dab. i. p. 243.

[3] Zsp. 22. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162.

[4] See also above, pp. 40–41.

Other Spiritual Manifestations. — In these various visions of Paradise which are granted to Zoroaster, and which rival the seven heavens of Mohammed, the Prophet becomes quite well acquainted with the empyrean realms and with the celestial hierarchy of God, the angels, and archangels.[1] The tendency to visionary trance is further manifested by the apparition of Haoma, which rises before Zarathushtra at the altar, as described in the Avesta (Ys. **9.** 1).[2] The Pahlavi commentary on this passage adds that Zoroaster at once recognized Hōm 'because he had had conferences with most of the angels (Izads) and he was acquainted with them.'[3] The same idea of heavenly visitations is implied elsewhere in the Avesta, for example, where Ashi Vanuhi is conceived of as conversing with Zarathushtra.[4]

To Summarize the Seven Visions. — At the age of thirty Zoroaster receives a revelation, and during the next ten years he beholds seven visions of Ormazd and the Archangels. In Zoroastrian literature there are several allusions to these manifestations. A chapter in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam describes the conferences with most detail. Its account implies that the visions occurred during the winters — a time when the Prophet perhaps chose to rest from his itinerant labors, like Buddha during the rainy season. The particular paragraph referring to this point is worth quoting. It runs: 'The seven questions are explained within the length of these winters, which are of five months, and within ten years.'[5] As to scene, the text says, at the outset, that 'the seven questions, with reference to religion, of the seven archangels, occurred in seven places.'[6] If

[1] In this connection, attention might, perhaps, be drawn to the chapter on the Yazatas (Izads) in the Great Iranian Būndahishn, translated by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 305–22; cf. West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 102 (par. 35).

[2] For a poet's view of Zoroaster's spiritual visions, we might recall the lines of Shelley, *Prometheus Unbound*, 1. 1. 198–201.

[3] See Darmesteter, *ZA.* translated (2 ed.) in *SBE.* iv. 258, and also *Le ZA.* iii. 29.

[4] Yt. **17.** 15–21.

[5] Zsp. **22.** 13 (West's tr.).

[6] Zsp. **22.** 1 (West's tr.).

we follow tradition, the scenes of five of the visions, namely, the first, second, fifth, sixth, and seventh, are certainly to be localized in the west of Iran, in Ādarbaijān and the southern Caspian territory. If the identification, suggested above, of Tōjān and of Sarāī be correct, the place of the third and of the fourth conferences likewise is directly to the south of the Caspian Sea. Media Atropatene and Media Rhagiana may therefore be regarded, on the basis of tradition at least, as the place of Zoroaster's apocalyptic visions of heaven.

The Temptation of Zoroaster. — The ten years of interviews and communings with the Divine Beings are now at an end. The Revelation is complete. Zoroaster receives from Ormazd some final admonitions, and he carries with him from heaven the supreme knowledge contained in the Avesta and also the sacred Ahuna Vairya formula — the paternoster of Zoroastrianism. At parting he is warned to guard against the temptations of the fiends who will beset his path as he returns among men. It is the instant when a weaker spirit might be prone to falter, and when a false step would mean ruin and damnation. It is the moment when Māra whispered to the newly Enlightened Buddha, tempting him to enter at once into Nirvāna and not to give forth to mankind the illumination which he himself by so hard a struggle had won. The Powers of Evil now gather their forces for a combined attack upon Zarathushtra. A description of the Temptation is given both in the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings. The demon Būiti (Phl. Būṭ) is sent by Ahriman to deceive and to overthrow the holy messenger. But Zoroaster is armed with a breastplate of righteousness and with the spiritual weapons of the Law, as well as materially equipped; and he defeats his spiritual enemies and puts them to flight. The Avesta pictures the situation as follows: —

'From the region of the north, from the regions of the north, forth rushed Anra Mainyu, the deadly, the Demon of Demons. And thus howled the maleficent Anra Mainyu, the deadly: "O Fiend, rush

on and kill him," O righteous Zarathushtra! The Fiend rushed then along, the demon Būiti, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'Zarathushtra recited the Ahuna Vairya, saying: "As the Lord, etc." He worshipped the good waters of the good Dāityā. He recited the creed of the Religion of Mazda-worshippers. And away rushed the Fiend confounded, the secret-moving Pestilence, the deceiver.

'The Fiend then howled back to Anra Mainyu: "Thou tormentor, Anra Mainyu! I can find no destruction for him — for Spitama Zarathushtra. All-glorious is Zarathushtra." Now, Zarathushtra perceived in his heart, "The fiendish maleficent Demons are plotting my destruction."

'Up started Zarathushtra, forward stepped Zarathushtra, undaunted by Evil Thought, by the hardness of his malicious questions, and wielding stones in his hand, stones big as a house, having obtained them from Ahura Mazda, he the righteous Zarathushtra.

'"Whereat in this broad, round earth, whose boundaries are far distant (asked the Demon), dost thou wield (these stones), thou who standest upon the high bank of the river Drej (Dareja), at the abode of Pourushaspa?"

'And Zarathushtra responded to Anra Mainyu: "O maleficent Anra Mainyu! I shall smite the creation of the Demons, I shall smite the Nasu (demon of Death), who is created by the Demons. (Yea), I shall smite the Enchantress (Pairika Khnāthaiti), until the Saviour (Saoshyant), the Victorious shall be born from the waters of Kāsava, from the region of the dawn, from the regions of the dawn."[1]

'Thereupon to him howled back Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "Do not destroy my creatures, O righteous Zarathushtra! Thou art the son of Pourushaspa; I was worshipped (?) by thy mother. Renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, so as to obtain a boon such as Vadhaghana obtained, the ruler of a nation."[2]

'But Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "No! I shall not

[1] This is the Messiah that is to spring from the seed of Zarathushtra; he is to be born in the land of Seistān, the home of the Kayanian royal family.

[2] On the Vaṭakān tyrant Dahāk, see Mkh. **57**. 25; Dāṭ. **72**. 5; **78**. 2; Dk. **9**. 10. 3; **9**. 21. 4; **7**. 2. 64; Zsp. **12**. 13 (West, *SBE*. xxiv. 103; xviii. 217, 228; xxxvii. 185, 212; xlvii. 32, 136).

renounce the good Religion of the worshippers of Mazda, not though life, and limb, and soul should part asunder."

'And again to him howled out Anra Mainyu, the Lord of Evil Creation: "By whose word wilt thou vanquish, by whose word wilt thou withstand, and by what weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish)[1] my creation, who am Anra Mainyu?"

'Spitama Zarathushtra answered him: "With the sacred mortar, with the sacred cup, with the Word proclaimed by Mazda, with my own weapon, and it is the best one. With this word will I vanquish with this word will I withstand, with this weapon will the good creatures (withstand and vanquish thee), O malignant Anra Mainyu! The Good Spirit created these, he created them in the Boundless Time; the Amesha Spentas, the good and wise rulers presented them."

'And Zarathushtra recited aloud the Ahuna Vairya.'[2]

The Dīnkarṭ has a briefer account of the episode; and the Zartusht Nāmah and Dabistān also allude to the assault of the princes of darkness upon Zoroaster as he is returning, and to their specious, guileful, and tempting words.[3] This temptation, therefore, offers an indirect parallel to that in Buddhism and in Christianity. No likeness is familiar in Mohammedanism nor in the Mosaic system. But besides this, another seductive deception awaits the Prophet of Mazda, like the Knight of true Holiness encountering Foul Error and Hypocrisy in the Faerie Queene, a passage which might be compared. For Zoroaster, as forewarned by Aūharmazd, is again tempted, this time by a Karap who has assumed the feminine form of Spendarmaṭ; but he discovers the disguise and exorcises the fiend as described in the Dīnkarṭ.[4]

Maidhyōi-māonha, the First Convert to the Faith. — We may now imagine Zoroaster in this tenth year of the Religion as busily engaged in his mission among men. The bugle note of

[1] So, after Darmesteter's construction of *hukərətāṇhō*.

[2] Vd. **19.** 1-10; compare also Darmesteter's translation in *SBE.* iv. 208 seq. (2 ed.).

[3] Dk. **7.** 4. 36-41; ZtN. p. 498; Dab. i. p. 244.

[4] Dk. **7.** 4. 54-62; see West's translation.

success is sounded even though the full triumph and victory is still to be delayed for two years more. Yet only one convert has been made; but the conversion is important; it is Zarathushtra's own cousin Maidhyōi-māonha (Phl. Mēṯyō-māh) already mentioned (p. 20). The Zāṯ-sparam selection states the fact thus: 'On the completion of revelation, that is, at the end of the ten years, Mēṯyōmāh, son of Ārāstāī,[1] became faithful to Zaratūsht.'[2] The fact is definitely alluded to in the Gāthās and in the Younger Avesta (which contains lists also of later converts, in the Farvadīn Yasht),[3] and it is noticed in other Zoroastrian writings. Quotations are unnecessary. Maidhyōi-māonha's being drawn to the new faith and his acceptance of the creed is a fulfilment of the promise which Zaratūsht's first vision gave when he beheld the image of a victorious army under this leader coming to join him.[4] The Zāṯ-sparam rightly interprets the allegory: 'Mēṯyōmāh was the leader of all mankind who have gone out to the presence of Zaratūsht, and he became their guide, so that first Mēṯyōmāh and afterwards the whole material existence are attracted (to the faith).'[5] The scene of the conversion is laid by the Zāṯ-sparam 'in the forest of reedy hollows, which is the haunt of swine of the wild-boar species.'[6] It would be interesting if one could identify the situation. We may henceforth think of Maidhyōi-māonha as a sort of St. John the disciple.

Conclusion. — The first ten years of the Religion have now passed; seven visions have been seen; the Revelation is complete; Zoroaster has withstood the temptation and assaults of the Powers of Evil; he has also won his first disciple. And yet at this instant, after the exhilaration of success, there comes the moment of depression and despondency. We have

[1] See genealogical table in Chap. II.

[2] Zsp. **23**. 1. According to the traditional dating, the year would be B.C. 620. See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] Ys. **51**. 19; Yt. **13**. 95.

[4] Zsp. **21**. 2; ZtN. p. 491; Dab. i. p. 230–1. Cf. p. 40 above.

[5] Zsp. **21**. 3 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 155).

[6] Zsp. **23**. 8.

evidence of this; for, to quote the words of a Zāṯ-sparam selection, 'Afterwards, on having obtained his requests, he came back to the conference of Aūharmazd, and he spoke thus: "In ten years only one man has been attracted by me."'[1] Ormazd answers paradoxically, but the answer seems to have given an inspiration, for the efforts of the next two years are unceasing, — crucial years as they were, — success attends, the climax is reached, the achievement is won. This achievement is the conversion of Vishtāspa, the triumph of the Faith, as described in the next chapter.

[1] Zsp. 23. 2.

CHAPTER V

TRIUMPH

THE CONVERSION OF KING VISHTĀSPA IN THE TWELFTH YEAR OF THE FAITH

And hēt hine gān tō þām cynge and bōdian him rihtne gelēafan, and hē swā dyde, and se cing gecyrde tō rihtne gelēafan.

— ANGLO-SAXON CHRONICLE.

INTRODUCTION — ZOROASTER SEEKS VISHTĀSPA — MEETING BETWEEN ZARATŪSHT AND VISHTĀSP — ZARATŪSHT DISPUTES WITH THE WISE MEN — CONSPIRACY AGAINST HIM; HIS IMPRISONMENT — THE EPISODE OF THE BLACK HORSE — COMPLETE CONVERSION OF VISHTĀSP — COMING OF THE ARCHANGELS — VISHTĀSP'S VISION — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — The eleventh and twelfth years of the Religion are stirring years in the Prophet's life;[1] they are years of struggle, bitter trial, temporary disappointment, but of final triumph; they are the two years devoted to the conversion of Vishtāspa; and when success finally crowns the effort, they form the great climax in Zoroaster's career. A firm and powerful hand is henceforth to uphold the Faith. The events, incidents, and occurrences, which are recorded by tradition in connection with this important era are presented here in detail; and the words of the texts themselves are employed, as far as possible in narrating them. In order truly to appreciate the spirit of the situation one should call to mind descriptions of similar conversions in the history of the world's great religions.

Zoroaster seeks Vishtāspa. — As already noted, an inspira-

[1] B.C. 619–618, according to the traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

tion seems to have come to Zoroaster that he should turn to the court of Vishtāspa. The Younger Avesta tells how he prayed to Ardvī Sūra, the goddess of waters, that he might win Vishtāspa to the Faith.[1] Vishtāspa is a king or princely ruler, but he and his court are represented as having been wrapt in the toils of evil religious influence and fettered by the false belief that was rife in the land. The picture which the Zoroastrian texts give is naturally a distorted one, colored by religious prejudice and animosity; but doubtless its darkness is not without reason. Everything is portrayed as bound by base superstition, or under the thrall of dread magic. There is the stifling atmosphere of the dark ages of the Atharva Veda that was still hanging like a pall over the cousin-land of India. Iran or the court of Vishtāsp is dominated by scheming and unscrupulous priests, the Kīgs and Karaps, or Kavis and Karpans of the Avesta. Especially powerful among these is one Zāk — a name that seems to occur only in the Dīnkarṭ, and his ill reputation has destined him otherwise for oblivion. The Dīnkarṭ gives a number of interesting particulars on the subject, which are translated by West, and are worth quoting in part. 'Zaratūsht became aware from revelation about the vileness and perverted religion of Zāk of the deadly Karaps of Vishtāsp and many other Kaīs and Karaps who were at the residence of Vishtāsp.'[2] Accordingly, 'after the continuance of the last questioning of the ten years of conference [he took] his departure alone, by the advice and command of Aūharmazd, to the residence of Vishtāsp and the precinct of that terrible conflict.'[3]

The Shikand-gūmānīk-Vijār, **10**. 64–66 also adds that 'Zaratūsht came alone on a true mission, to the lofty portal of Kaī Gushtāsp, and the religion was taught by him, with a powerful tongue, to Kaī Gushtāsp and the learned, through the speech of wisdom, through manual gestures, through definite words,

[1] Yt. 5. 105.
[2] Dk. 7. 4. 64.
[3] Dk. 7. 4. 65.

through explanation of many doubts, and through the presentation of the visible testimony of the archangels, together with many miracles.'[1]

The Dīnkarṭ speaks several times of the 'residence,' 'lofty residence,' 'abode,' 'capital or metropolis' of Vishtāsp, but it does not make clear where this was located.[2] Neither does the Avesta nor any known Pahlavi text make a precise and definite statement. But the later tradition, Persian and Arabic, persistently maintains that the city of Balkh was the scene of the conversion. A full discussion of this question is given below in Appendix IV., so it is omitted here. It must be remembered therefore when 'Balkh' is mentioned hereafter it is used because the name stands in the particular connection or source from which the material in question is being drawn; a final judgment on the matter is avoided for the present.

It is at this juncture that a curious legend is narrated of a strange incident which happened as Zoroaster was on his way to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp). The modern Persian Dabistān, basing its statement upon the authority of a priest who quoted from an old treatise, recounts how two infidel rulers were punished for refusing to adopt the Faith at the holy bidding of the Prophet as he was proceeding to interview the great king. The selection reads: 'The Mobed Surūsh, the Yazdānian, has

[1] West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170–1.

[2] Dk. **7.** 4. 64, 65, 75, 76, 77, 84; 5. 2 (= *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 64 *bis*, 67, 68 *bis*, 70, 74); **8.** 11. 3; in the Shik. Gūm. Vij. **10.** 64, transl. 'lofty portal' (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 170). Dr. West (Aug. 2, 1897) writes me: 'In Dk. **7.** 4. 64, 65, the word translated "capital" in the *Grundriss*, and "residence" in *SBE.* vol. xlvii. is *babā* (= *dar* Pers.). As a mint-mark on coins it is understood to mean "the capital, or metropolis." It also occurs Dk. **8.** 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24). The word *mān*, "abode," "house," is also used in **7.** 4. 75, 76, 77, etc. Whether the two words are used indifferently, or whether *babā* rather means "the city," and *mān*, "the palace," is uncertain. There is no hint in Dk. as to where this capital, or residence, was.' Furthermore (Jan. 7, 1898), 'Dk. **7.** 4. 76, "lofty residence" = *būland mānishnŏ*, where *būland* may mean "high" either in position or character; "tall, exalted, or eminent."' If 'lofty residence' or 'capital' should perhaps signify Balkh, we might compare Shelley's 'that high capital,' meaning Rome.

been heard to say, "It is recorded in the treatise of Mīhīn Farūsh that, according to the doctors of the pure faith, when Zardusht had thus obtained the victory over the demons, and was proceeding to an interview with the great King Gushtāsp, there happened to be two oppressive and infidel kings in his road; these Zardusht invited to adopt the pure faith and turn away from their evil practices; but they heeded not his words; he therefore prayed to God, and there began to blow a mighty wind, which lifted up these two kings on high and kept them suspended in the air; the people who came around were astonished on beholding this sight; the birds also from every quarter of the sky flocked around the two kings, and with beaks and talons tore off their flesh until the bones fell to the ground."'[1] The legend has a weird picturesqueness, to say the least!

Meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp. — If we understand the Dīnkarṭ text aright, the moment of the first meeting between Zaratūsht and Vishtāsp must have been when the king was on the race-course (Phl. *aspānvar*);[2] the Dīnkarṭ paragraph speaks of Zoroaster as 'uttering, on the horse-course of Vishtāsp, a reminder of the power and triumph of Aūharmazd over himself, as he invited Vishtāsp to the religion of Aūharmazd; and with great wisdom Vishtāsp heard the words of Zaratūsht, on account of his own complete mindfulness, and would have asked for an outpouring of prophecy. But thereupon — before the words of Zaratūsht (were fully) heard by him, and he could have understood the character of Zaratūsht — owing to the demonizing of the deadly Zāk and the rest of those Kīgs and Karaps, spoken out with slanderous knowledge and perverse

[1] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 244-245. A kindred idea perhaps is contained in Dk. 7. 4. 82 end.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 66. In answer to an inquiry if, possibly, a town might be intended, Dr. West says (Jan. 7, 1898), 'There is a town Asbānbur, or Asfānbur, but I have not been able to discover where it is. I am doubtful, however, if a town be meant by the words: *Madam Aspānvar-ī Vishtāspō*. I should be more inclined to read *aspakhvūr* for *aspākhvūr*, "a horse-stable."' In the latter case, one might think perhaps of the story of healing the black horse of Vishtāsp.

actions to Vishtāsp about Zaratūsht, there then (occurred) his consignment of Zaratūsht to confinement and punishment.'[1]

In the Zartusht Nāmah[2] the scene of the conversion is laid in Balkh, where Vishtāsp's father, the old king Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa) is generally stated to have lived in retirement after his abdication. Masūdī (d. A.D. 957) also makes it Balkh, and his testimony is nearly three hundred years earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah.[3] The Shāh Nāmah (A.D. 1000) does not make the assertion explicitly in so many words, but it lays all the following scenes at Balkh, as discussed below (Appendix IV. p. 214).[4] The Cangranghācah Nāmah likewise lays the scene of the rival Brahman's conversion at Balkh.[5]

The later tradition adds details and embellishes the account. According to the Zartusht Nāmah, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was seated in royal estate in his palace when Ormazd's apostle appeared.[6] According to Mohammedan writers, Ḳazwīnī and Ibn al-Athīr, Zoroaster enters the assembly in no ordinary manner, but by a miracle: the roof parts asunder to give entrance to his hallowed person.[7] Ibn al-Athīr also adds, that 'in his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him.' The scene might make a subject for a painting. We must remember, furthermore, that Zoroaster originally sprang from the country of naphtha wells; moreover, he may not have been wholly unacquainted with effects produced by chemical experiments if we may judge from accounts of the scientific knowledge attributed to him.[8] The Shāh Nāmah

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 66–67 (West's translation). Cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 6.

[2] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[3] See Masūdī's statement in Appendix IV. p. 199.

[4] Compare Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, trad. iv. 290, 291, 298, 300.

[5] See summary by Anquetil du Perron, i. part. 2, p. 50.

[6] ZtN. pp. 498–499.

[7] Gottheil, *References*, p. 40. Both of these writers belong to the thirteenth century of our era. Mirkhond (*History*, tr. Shea, p. 287) repeats Ibn al-Athīr's story of the wonderful fire. Recall also classical allusions to the fire. The reference is evidently to the Būrhzīn Mitrō fire described below.

[8] *E.g.* in the Nasks, see Chap. VIII. below, pp. 95–96; cf. also Dk. 7. 5. 8–10, and also the classical statements on p. 8 and in Appendix V.

similarly alludes to the censer or basin of fire which he brought from Paradise to present to the King.[1] In these fire references there seems to linger a reminiscence of the Būrzhīn Mitrō fire, shortly to be referred to. Ḳazwīnī apparently draws from some traditional source or Pahlavi text when he describes an ordeal of molten metal to which Zoroaster has to submit his person to prove the divine truth of his mission.[2] This is at least in harmony with 'the achievement of ordeal' referred to in the Dīnkarṭ as instituted or sanctioned by Zaratūsht who is there cited as giving authority for thirty-three kinds of this judicial test.[3] This very achievement of Zoroaster forms the prototype of a fiery ordeal undergone by one of his future apostles in Sassanian times, and of the usage of the ordeal in the religion.

Zaratūsht disputes with the Wise Men. — There is evidence enough to show that the Prophet had to win his way step by step during these two years of struggle and probation; and there is no doubt that he at once encountered the antagonism and vigorous opposition of the wise men of the king's court. According to tradition at least, there were not wanting those to plot against him.

'The Kavīgs and Karaps,' says the Zāṭ-sparam, 'in the manner of opponents propounded thirty-three inquiries to him, so that by command of Vishtāsp he became the explainer of those thirty-three inquiries.'[4] This and the later debates are alluded to in the Dīnkarṭ and elsewhere as 'the terrible conflict,' 'the terrible combat,' 'the great session,' 'the controversy about the religion with the famous learned of the realm' who were Zoroaster's 'fellow-disputants.'[5] The Zartusht Nāmah, drawing upon some source not now accessible, or supplying material from imagination, graphically describes the scene with Eastern pomp

[1] I.e. *mijmar-i ātaš*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1498; Mohl tr. iv. 290. On the amulet chain given to Isfendīār, see p. 67, note 6.

[2] Ḳazwīnī, ed. Wüstenfeld, ii. 267; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 41; Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 287.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 4–5 (West, *SBE.*).

[4] Zsp. 23. 5.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 65, 69, 70, 73; 5. 2. 10; Zsp. 23. 5.

and Oriental detail.[1] The sages of Vishtāsp are seated in grave council to dispute with the new-comer and stranger, with the herald of Ormazd. The debate and controversy lasts no less than three days.[2] The Priest of the Zend-Avesta comes off triumphant at every point.[3] He claims the office of Prophet and begins to recite the sacred texts to the king.[4]

Conspiracy against Zoroaster; his Imprisonment. — Vishtāsp's interest is aroused, and the divine Seer seems to have produced a marked effect by being able through his prescience, as the story goes, openly to disclose and tell the thoughts of the king and of others, with astonishing results.[5] A plot, however, is concocted by those whose light the brilliancy of the new luminary has dimmed. The priests who are supplanted in influence enter into a conspiracy, like those who sought to find occasion against Daniel, and they intrigue for Zoroaster's death.[6] By suborning the porter of his lodging, as the tale relates, these wicked schemers succeed in hiding vile material within the holy man's apartments so that it may be used as evidence against him. The hair, nails, heads, of cats and dogs, together with various other paraphernalia of witchcraft and sorcery, are thus slipped in. On this false evidence Zoroaster is accused of being a wizard and necromancer; he is thrown into prison and is left to starve. Such is the account of the Zartusht Nāmah, and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṭ alludes to the circumstance as well.[7]

The Episode of the Black Horse. — A miracle releases Zardusht. It is the miracle which he wrought by restoring to health the king's Black Horse, as described with great elaboration in the Zartusht Nāmah and incidentally referred to in the Dīnkarṭ.[8] The king has a favorite black horse.[9] Upon the imprisonment

[1] ZtN. pp. 499–501; repeated also in the Dabistān, i. pp. 245–250.

[2] ZtN. p. 501.

[3] One is somewhat reminded of the questionings of the scribes and Pharisees, if not of Luther's disquisitions.

[4] ZtN. p. 501; Dab. i. pp. 249–250.

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 71; 5. 2. 8.

[6] ZtN. p. 503 seq. repeated in Dab. i. p. 251.

[7] Dk. 7. 4. 64, 67; 7. 5. 6.

[8] ZtN. pp. 504–509; Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[9] Apparently named Bahzād (well-

of Ormazd's minister the animal's four legs are suddenly drawn up into its belly and the creature is unable to move. This occurrence is plainly a manifestation of the divine displeasure. In his dungeon cell Zardusht hears of what has happened. He offers, if released, to restore the horse to its former soundness; but he will do this only upon the fulfilment of specific conditions. These the king must agree to beforehand. Vishtāsp is overjoyed and promises to grant the Priest a boon for each foot of the charger that is restored to its proper state. The details which follow seem ludicrous, but such descriptions of cunning practices are not unique. Hocus-pocus has been employed elsewhere, and the situation doubtless had its parallels in other courts of Eastern despots in ancient days. We must not forget that even when St. Augustine preached Christianity to Æthelbert of England, it was in the open air, owing to the king's dread of witchcraft which might exercise a spell upon him if he were within four walls!

The first condition which Zardusht makes, is that Vishtāsp shall accept the Faith if one foot of the horse be restored. Upon the king's agreeing to this stipulation, and in answer to the Prophet's earnest prayer, 'the right fore-leg of the horse came out, since the word of the Shāh was true.'[1] Before the 'man of God' will grant the second boon, however, the king must promise that his own warlike son Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) shall fight as a crusader in support of the true Faith. Thereupon, 'the right hind-leg of the steed comes out by the commandment of God.' The third condition results in the granting of a wished-for favor, the privilege of converting the queen to the Faith. Upon its fulfilment the descent of the third leg is accomplished. The last promise includes the revealing of the names of the culprits who had bribed the

bred) in the Shāh Nāmah (Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 320, 335), unless this name be a merely typical one like 'Black Beauty' in English. Such at least is the tradition. See also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 360 (Wehzāt), for other horses called by this name.

[1] ZtN. p. 507 (Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, from which the quotations are made).

doorkeeper and had plotted against the Prophet of the Lord. When these are revealed and the offenders appropriately punished by death, the horse is fully restored to health and leaps up upon his four legs as sound as before.

This absurd story, which the Zartusht Nāmah, as just described, tells minutely with considerable imagination and poetic embellishment, receives only brief notice incidentally in the Dīnkarṭ, when it refers to 'the wonder about the splendid horse of Vishtāsp,'[1] and when in another part of the work, it mentions 'the splendid horse of Vishtāsp' as the nonpareil of horses.[2] The episode is seriously recorded, earlier than the Zartusht Nāmah, by Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086), who lived in Khorassān.[3] As the author of the Zartusht Nāmah (A.D. 1277) was a native of Raī in the West, it shows how current the story was. It is later repeated by Mirkhond.[4] How different from the narrative of Constantine and the Cross!

Complete Conversion of Vishtāsp. — The conversion of Vishtāsp is nearly complete, but he still seeks from Zardusht an additional proof, a vision, a manifestation, some sign or token, before he will be finally convinced. Inasmuch as he himself has freely granted four favors to Zoroaster in acknowledgment of his services, the king now himself makes four counter-requests, as the narrative tells, before he fully adopts the Faith. The Zartusht Nāmah again relates these in detail, and we can infer from incidental allusions in Avestan and Pahlavi texts that the tradition was a recognized one.[5] The first of these four request by Vishtāsp is that he may know his final doom and see his place in Paradise; the second, that his body may become invul-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 70.

[2] Dk. 9. 22. 2 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 220).

[3] Shahrastānī ed. Haarbrücker, i. 283; cf. Gottheil, *References*, p. 50. For references to Vishtāsp's horse Bahzād, see note on p. 62, above.

[4] Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, pp. 287-288.

[5] ZtN. pp. 509-11. Compare the fragmentary Avestan texts Vishtāsp Yasht, and Āfrīn Paighambar Zartūsht (Yt. 24 and Yt. 23). Cf. also Dk. 7. 4. 74-82; 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7 (*SBE.* xlvii. 67-70, 81, 164); Dk. 8. 11. 2-3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

nerable ; the third favor is that he may have universal knowledge, knowing the past, present, and future ; and fourth, that his soul may not leave his body until the resurrection. The Prophet of Ormazd gives assurance that all these requests may be granted ; but he shows that such phenomenal privileges when granted could not be combined in the person of a single individual. The king must choose one boon out of the four. His selection is to have permission to behold the place which he shall occupy in heaven.

Coming of the Archangels. — This moment is the occasion of the coming of three Amshaspands, or Archangels, from heaven, to the palace of the king, as witnesses from Aūharmazd to the divinely inspired message of Zaratūsht. These three heaven-sent envoys are Vohūman, Ashavahisht, and the Propitious Fire (Būrzhīn-Mitrō, or Spēnisht, Av. Spénishta).[1] In its description the Dīnkarṭ quotes a passage from 'revelation' as follows: 'Then he who is the creator Aūharmazd spoke to them, to Vohūmanō, Ashavahishtō, and also the fire of Aūharmazd, the propitious, thus: "Proceed! you who are archangels, unto the abode of Vishtāsp, whose resources are cattle and who is far and widely famed, with a view to his reliance upon this religion (that is, till he shall stand up for this religion); and, as regards the answering words of the righteous Zaratūsht of the Spitāmas, to approve the nature of those words."'[2] And, as the paragraph continues, the archangels proceeded to the abode of Vishtāsp in such glorious effulgence that 'their radiance in that lofty residence seemed to him a heaven of complete light, owing to their great power and triumph; this was so that when he thus looked upon it, the exalted Kaī-Vishtāsp trembled, all his courtiers trembled, all his chieftains were con-

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 75, 78 ; 7. 6. 13 ; Zsp. 23. 7 ; Dk. 8. 11. 2–3 ; Bd. 17. 1, 8. See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 155. It may be noticed that the Zartusht Nāmah makes the number of the messengers to be four, as it mentions two fires, Ādar Khūrdād and Ādar Gūshasp beside the two archangels.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 75–76 (West's translation).

fused, and he of the superior class was like the driver of a chariot-horse.'[1]

The Zartusht Nāmah colors this part of the account by graphically describing these messengers as majestic knights on horseback in cavalier style, bristling with armor and clad in green.[2] The Dīnkarṭ goes on to tell how the Fire speaks out and reassures the terrified king that they are come, not for alarming him as the two envoys of his mortal foe Arjāsp the Khyōn later would do, but that they are come with a bidding from heaven that he should receive the religion of Zaratūsht. In that event they promise him a long reign and a life of one hundred and fifty years(!), accompanied by many blessings and exalted by an immortal son Pēshyōtan (Av. Peshōtanu). On the contrary, if he will not accept the holy Faith, they threaten that his end will soon ensue. And the Archangels thereupon took up their abode with Vishtāsp.[3]

Vishtāsp's Vision. — It was after this stirring occurrence and after the obedient Vishtāsp had received the Creed, that a glimpse of Paradise and a spiritual revelation of his triumphant success in life is vouchsafed to him. In referring to this the Dīnkarṭ says: 'For the sake of daily[4] and visibly showing to Vishtāsp the certified victory over Arjāsp and the Khyōns, and his own superior position, unceasing rule, splendor, and glory, the creator Āūharmazd sends, at the same time, the angel Nēryōsang to the abode of Vishtāsp, as a reminder for the archangel Ashavahishtō to give to Vishtāsp to drink of that fountain of life, for looking into the existence of the spirits, the enlightening food by means of which great glory and beauty are seen by Vishtāsp.'[5] The king now quaffs an anodyne draft of 'the fountain of life'[6] from a fine saucer which

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 76 (West); cf. also Dk. 7. 6. 13; Zsp. 23. 7.

[2] ZtN. p. 510; repeated by Dab. i. p. 257.

[3] Dk. 7. 4. 77–82; and Dk. 8. 11. 3 (*SBE.* xxxvii. 24).

[4] Notice this word. It is also of interest in connection with an allusion in Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān, § 12, and with the Holy Wars (Chap. IX.).

[5] Dk. 7. 4. 84 (West's transl.).

[6] Dk. 7. 4. 84–85.

is proffered to him by Ashavahishtō;[1] and at his instigation the queen also accepts the Faith.[2] The Zartusht Nāmah[3] completes the picture by describing how the king's son Peshōtan (Bashūtan) receives from the Prophet's hand a cup of milk which he drains and becomes undying until the resurrection.[4] The grand vizir, Jāmāsp, inhales some magic perfumes and becomes endowed with universal wisdom.[5] The valiant Isfendiār (Av. Spentō-dāta, Phl. Spend-dāṯ) partakes of a pomegranate, and his body is made invulnerable, so that he may fight the good fight of the Faith.[6] Thus are bestowed the four great boons which were asked by Vishtāsp.

Conclusion. — In reviewing the accounts of the conversion of Kavi Vishtāspa one can but feel convinced of the reality of the event. It is not easy, however, to decide how much may be actual fact and how much is fiction in the stories that are told. Nor is it easy to determine of how early or how late origin some of these stories are. Several of them appear to be hinted at in younger portions of the Avesta; they hardly would occur in the existing Gāthās, for the nature of those Psalms would rather preclude them. Some of them seem to be built up on the basis of old allusions which have been interpreted to suit a situation. Several of them strike us to-day as silly, but a number of them as picturesque and as tinged with Oriental fancy.

Nevertheless, amid all the dross, grains of gold are undoubtedly to be found; and beneath the blaze of tinsel and the glare

[1] So Dk., but by Zardusht, according to the Zartusht Nāmah, p. 511.

[2] Dk. 7. 4. 86.

[3] ZtN. p. 511; repeated in Dab. i. pp. 259-260.

[4] In connection with this incident, compare also the paragraph on Pēshyōtan in Dk. 7. 5. 12 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77). In the Avesta, and in Pahlavi writings, Peshōtanu is always spoken of as immortal.

[5] This is the character of 'the wise Jāmāsp' in the Avesta, the Pahlavi books, and the later writings. Compare also the Pahlavi treatise, Jāmāsp Nāmak, noted by West in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 110.

[6] In the Shāh Nāmah this quality is conferred by means of an amulet chain (kustī ?) which Zardusht is supposed to have brought from heaven, cf. p. 61, note 1, above. See Mohl, tr. iv. 407, and cf. Spiegel, in Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 211.

of gaudy coloring, a sober shade of truth may be recognized. Other nations and other generations have sought for a sign; the Zoroastrian writings are not the only texts that relate miracles. An Eastern ruler in ancient days may not have been insensible to influences which were of a cajoling character. And as for the intrigues against Zoroaster, his imprisonment and his release, we know that court jealousies and priestly conspiracies against a powerful rival have not been confined to Iran. Fanciful stories of a bewitched horse may likewise be found elsewhere. Banks and his horse, in Shakspere's day, would be an illustration. The conversion also of the queen of the realm opened many another door to influence, as did Emma to St. Augustine. Perhaps Hutaosa was early interested in Zoroaster's preaching. It suffices to say that even if the actual circumstances connected with the momentous event of Vishtāsp's conversion were not wholly as tradition later represents them, they might at least have been such or similar. *Voilà tout!* The triumph of the Prophet is supreme.

CHAPTER VI

THE COURT OF VISHTASPA AND ITS CONVERSION

THE GĀTHĀS OR ZOROASTRIAN PSALMS

Cœpere plures quotidie ad audiendum verbum confluere.
—BEDA, *Hist. Eccl.* **1.** 26.

ZOROASTER'S PATRON VISHTĀSPA — ROMANTIC STORY OF HIS YOUTH — INFLUENCE OF VISHTĀSPA'S ADOPTING THE NEW FAITH — MEMBERS OF VISHTĀSPA'S COURT; IMMEDIATE CONVERSIONS; LIVING PERSONALITIES IN THE GĀTHĀS — OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COURT CIRCLE CONVERTED — CONCLUSION

Zoroaster's Patron Vishtāspa. — Kavi Vishtāspa, or King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp), the Constantine of Zoroastrianism and defender of the Faith, presents a figure so important in its bearing that some additional details may appropriately be given concerning this pious ruler's history. His name is ever recurring in Avestan and Pahlavi texts, in the Shāh Nāmah, and in Mohammedan writers who allude to Persia. A collection of the references to his name in the Avesta, supplemented by general allusions in other Zoroastrian writings, is given at the bottom of the page.[1] Special points of interest about him

[1] **1.** The principal Avestan references to Vishtāspa are: Gāthā, Ys. **28.** 7 (a boon to be granted to Vishtāspa and Zarathushtra); Ys. **46.** 14 (warrior V.); Ys. **51.** 16 (V. an ideal ruler in wisdom); Ys. **53.** 2 (a follower of Zarathushtra). — Yasna, Ys. **12.** 7 (a Zoroastrian); Ys. **23.** 2 and **26.** 5 (his *fravaši*). — Yasht, Yt. **5.** 98 (a Naotairyan); Yt. **5.** 105 (Z. prays for his conversion); Yt. **5.** 108–109 (V. prays for victory); Yt. **5.** **132** (type of successful conqueror); Yt. **9.** 29–32 (cf. Yt. **5.** 108; **17.** 49); Yt. **13.** 99–100 (hero of the Faith); Yt. **17.** 49–52 (cf. Yt. **9.** 29–32); Yt. **17.** 61 (prays to Ashi Vanuhi on the Dāityā); Yt. **19.** 84–87 (Kingly Glory,

may be found also in Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, pp. 372, 395, together with an elaborate genealogical table which should be consulted. An abridged list of Vishtāspa's next-of-kin, based upon Justi's table, is appended on the opposite page.

From this genealogical list we see that the patron of Zarathushtra was the son of Aurvaṯ-aspa (Lohrāsp) and was sprung from the old Kayanian line of kings.[1] He belongs to the Naotairyan family (cf. Av. Naotairya, Naotairyāna),[2] that is, he was descended from an ancestor Naotara (Firdausī's Naudhar).[3] His wife Hutaosa (Phl. Hūtōs), the patroness of Zoroaster, is likewise of the Naotairyan family;[4] his brother Zairivairi (Zarēr or Zarīr), a romantic hero and zealous convert, wins lasting fame by his valiant death in battle in the first Holy War, as described below. King Vishtāspa is the father of many sons and daughters.[5] Two of these sons, Spentō-dāta

defender of the Faith, conqueror); Yt. **23**. 1 seq. (Z.'s blessing upon V.); Ys. **24**. 1 seq. (Vishtāsp Nask).

2. Pahlavi references. The Phl. Comment. to Ys. **43**. 12 (cf. Ys. **27**. 6), **44**. 16, and also Dk. **9**. 33. 5, take Vishtāsp as a type of religious obedience, as representative of Srōsh on earth (see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 200, n. 24, and p. 283, n. 40; also his Index, s.v. 'Sraosha' in iii. 226). In general, the more important Pahlavi references, and there are many, will be given as occasion arises. Consult also the Indexes in West, *SBE.* vols. v. xviii. xxiv. xxxvii. xlvii. under 'Vishtāsp,' 'Kaī Vishtāsp.'

3. Mohammedan references, given below as they occur. Consult also Gottheil, *References*, p. (29), 33 *bis*, 34 (35), 37 (unimportant), 39 *bis*, 40 *bis;* also Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 284 (Balkh); Albīrūnī *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, pp. 100 seq., 206.

4. Classical references. The more important are given in this chapter, but consult also Appendix V. Mention might here be made likewise of the so-called oracular sayings of Vishtāsp; cf. Kuhn, *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 217.

[1] Yt. **5**. 105, *puθrəm yaṯ aurvaṯ-aspahe*. See also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 183. The question of a change of dynasty in the succession is referred to in the next note.

[2] For the connection between the Kavi dynasty and the Naotairyan clan by adoption, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 372, and West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80, n. 1.

[3] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 226-227. Moreover, on Phl. Nōṯar and Rāk, see West, *SBE.* xlvii. 29, 40, 44, 80, 147, and Appendix IV., below.

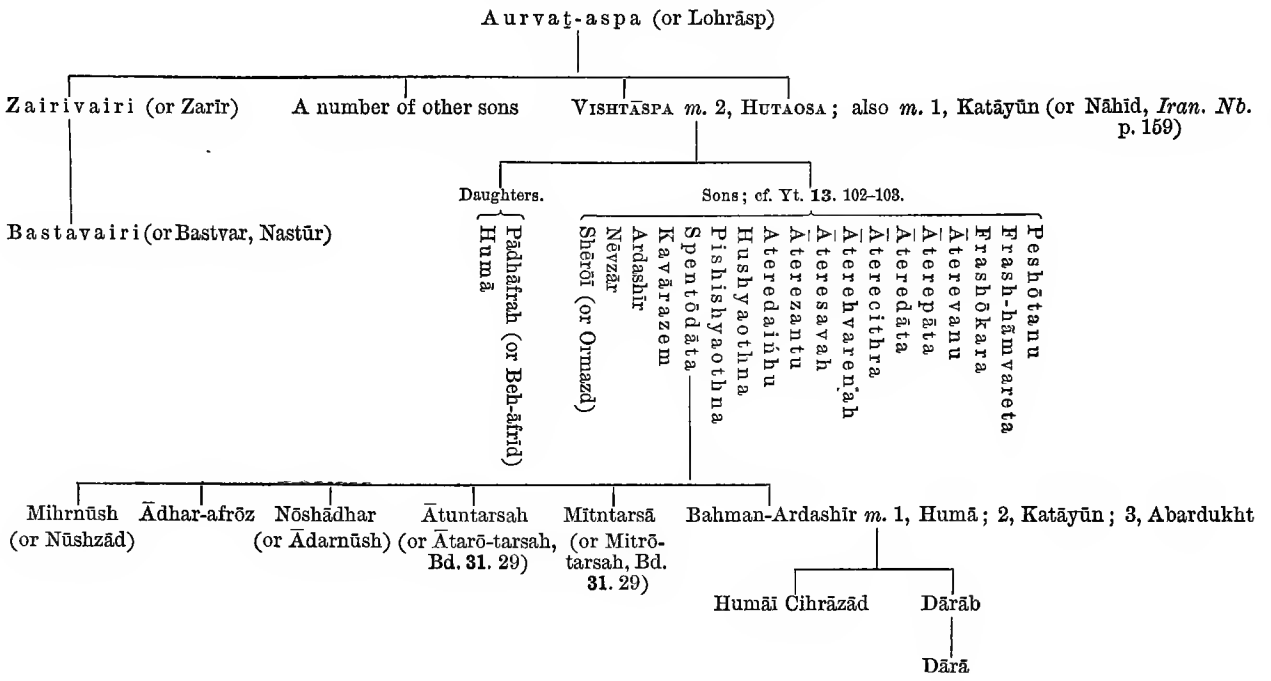
[4] Yt. **15**. 35; cf. Yt. **13**. 139; **9**. 26; **17**. 46. The Pahlavi narrative Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48 (Geiger, p. 59), makes Hūtōs the sister as well as queen of Vishtāsp, according to Magian practice.

[5] No less than thirty are spoken of in

GENEALOGICAL TABLE OF VISHTĀSPA.

After Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 395.

(Names printed with spacing are found in the Avesta.



(Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Pers. Isfendīār) and Peshōtanu, have been alluded to already and they will appear again. A daughter Humā (Phl. Pers. Hŭmāī), renowned for her beauty, is carried away, along with her sister Beh-Afrīd, into captivity, by the king's mortal foe Arjāsp; but they both are gallantly rescued by their heroic brother Isfendīār, as told in the Shāh Nāmah.[1]

The principal facts which the Avesta emphasizes about Vishtāspa are, his conversion, his zealous support of the Creed, and his vigorous crusading in behalf of the Faith. It furthermore portrays this nonpareil of kings as the very incarnation of religious obedience and of priestly ideals; he is the representative of the priest-god Sraosha, whom he typifies on earth; and he will serve as an officiating pontiff at the final judgment of the world, among those who are to be selected for that office.[2] This accentuation of the priestly side of Vishtāsp's character, which is found in the sacerdotal writings, seems to accord with the tradition that, following historic precedent, he withdrew from active affairs in the latest part of his life, and gave himself up to pious pilgrimage or devotion.[3]

Romantic Story of Vishtāsp's Youth. — With respect to the youth of this ideal king we have only a romantic story told by Firdausī in the Shāh Nāmah and repeated by Mirkhond on authority of the Tārīkh Maʿjem.[4] According to the great

the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 48; compare also the partial list in Av. Yt. 13. 102–103 (see genealogical table). Thirty sons are spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as having been slain in different battles; it mentions two daughters by name, and one of these occurs in the Avesta. Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 395.

[1] Yt. 13. 139 (Humā); Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, § 57 (Hūmāī), and compare Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 552, n.; Dk. 9. 22. 2; ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. p. 364, and pp. 330, 341, 356, 364, 372, 390, 429, 435, 558. In YZ. § 57 (Geiger) and ShN. iv. p. 330, 341 (Mohl), Hūmāī becomes the wife of Isfendīār (or of Bastvar? YZ), according to Ancient Persian practice of next-of-kin marriage.

[2] See Pahlavi reference § 2 on p. 70.

[3] As an illustration, recall the classical accounts which record his retirement for a time to India (Sagastān, Cabul?), and connect with it also the religious wisdom implied in the oracular sayings attributed to his name. See also Chap. XI. and p. 87, n. 1.

[4] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 224 seq.,

poetic chronicler, Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) has some disagreement with his father King Lohrāsp, and quits the city of Balkh which his father has founded. He leaves Iran and wanders westward towards Rūm.[1] There, at the court of an emperor, he accomplishes deeds of unparalleled prowess, wins the hand of the princess, Katāyūn (Kitābūn, or Nāhīd), becomes reconciled to his father through the good offices of his brother Zarīr,[2] returns to Iran and receives the crown from Lohrāsp's hands. Such is the novelistic story of the Shāh Nāmah.[3]

A similar romantic episode is preserved in Athenæus (**19.** 275 a), as narrated by Chares of Mitylene, but it is told of the early years of Zariadres (presumably Zarīr), brother to Hystaspes of 'Media and the territory below.'[4] According to the account, Zariadres himself rules the territory from the Caspian Gates to the Tanais, in which region the scene is laid. The name of the princess, in this case, is Odatis. Whether this episode, like the preceding, be founded upon fiction or upon some basis of fact, it is of interest because it connects the name of Vishtāspa, for a time at least, with the country west of Asia.[5] When the Shāh Nāmah makes Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) return, and, like all the later tradition, it makes him succeed his father at the city of Balkh, we have a new point of contact between the West and the East, Media and Bactria, to add on the side of that theory which believes that the Religion, following Zoroaster himself, gradually changed from West to East.[6]

Mirkhond, *History*, tr. Shea, p. 263, 266; cf. also Nöldeke, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 133, 166.

[1] General designation for the Byzantine empire, Asia Minor, Greece, Rome.

[2] Mohl, iv. 278–281.

[3] ShN. trad. Mohl, iv. 288–289, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159.

[4] Μηδίας καὶ τῆς ὑποκάτω χώρας; cf. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197; lii. 193.

[5] Consult Rapp, *ZDMG.* xx. 66; Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 294 seq.; xlv. 197; lii. 193; Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxi. and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382; Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 403.

[6] On the question of change of dynasty in the succession of Vishtāsp, consult what is said by Justi, *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, pp. 246, 252; *Grdr. iran. Ph.* ii. 410. See also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xli. 295; xlv. 197.

Far-reaching Influence of Vishtāspa's Conversion. — Viewed in its historic light the conversion of Vishtāspa is the main event of the Religion. The struggling creed now has a royal patron and protector. Zoroaster, therefore, at once proceeds to admonish his new convert concerning the path of holiness. A traditional reminiscence of these admonitions is found in the later Avestan Yasht Fragment, Vishtāsp Sāstō;[1] and the Zartusht Nāmah further exemplifies them from tradition by summarizing, in a general sort of way, the main outlines of the teachings of the Avestan Revelation.[2] The Pahlavi Dīnkart at this point adds a picturesque statement to the effect that 'When Zaratūsht chanted the revelation in the abode of Vishtāsp, it was manifest to the eye that it was danced to with joyfulness, both by the cattle and beasts of burden, and by the spirit of the fires which are in the abode.'[3] A new champion of the Faith, and protector of animal life as well, has been won, and joy reigns supreme. But the demons of Ahriman rush away to darkness.[4]

Members of Vishtāspa's Court — Immediate Conversions — Living Personalities in the Gāthās. — Two results followed as a natural sequel to the conversion of the king and his queen: one was, that the religion was at once generally adopted by the court; the other was, that it soon began to spread throughout the land. The former of these two results must first be discussed, and with it a brief description of the court personalities is necessary, as well as a few words upon the life and surroundings.

The best picture that we have of Zarathushtra's position at the court of Vishtāspa, and the most real and vivid glimpses that we can get so as to contrast the religious times before him with his present life, are to be found in the Gāthās themselves. Here we have the very words of the great Reformer or of his

[1] E.g. Yt. 24. 12; cf. also Dk. 8. 11. 1 seq.

[2] ZtN. p. 512 seq.

[3] Dk. 7. 5. 2 (West's translation).

[4] Byt. 2. 16; Dk. 7. 4. 87.

disciples; and the expressions heard in the Gāthās have as true and personal a ring as the cry of the Davidic Psalms. The tone of the Gāthās is varied. Hope, despair, exultation, discouragement, succeed each other with rapid change; for the moment, confidence and assurance, but then doubt and hesitancy; a period of zeal and activity must evidently have been followed by a time of repose and meditation; now admonition, exhortation, and promise; again philosophic speculation or veiled mystery, the spiritual sense of which could best be appreciated by the initiated; a shade of darkness, yet illuminated by a burst of light, by vision, by inspiration; then comes the final fiery outbreak of the prophetic soul in a clarion note of triumph and the transport of joyous victory. These are the tones that run in minor chords through the Gāthā Psalms. Well indeed would it be for the infidel and heretic if he would hearken unto wisdom and the Faith. The wicked man and the unbeliever, the Dregvant and the Daēva, are fiercely anathematized; the righteous Ashavan and the godly ruler are highly extolled.

The little band of the faithful forms a church militant. Of ritual there is little or none. The communicants at the new altar are few, but they move in procession distinctly before our eyes. The Gāthās mention some of them by name; certain of these are Zarathushtra's kinsfolk. The Haēcaṭaspas, descendants of Spitāma, who must have shared in Zarathushtra's success at the palace, are living personages. We recognize them when the Priest calls upon them in exhortation.[1] His favorite daughter Pourucista, whose marriage to Jāmāspa forms a theme in one of these Psalms, may be pictured as a type of filial piety and womanly devotion.[2] His cousin Maidyōi-mā-

[1] Cf. also Mills, *The Zend-Avesta*, in *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. p. xxvi; Geiger, in Darab D. P. Sanjana's *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 7–8, 163 seq.; and likewise the allusions to Vishtāspa's court in Geldner's forthcoming article, 'Persian Religion,' in Cheyne and Black's *Encyclopædia Biblica*.

[2] Compare also what is said of Pōrūcāst and Jāmāsp in the Pahlavi, Dk. 9. 45. 4 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxxvii. 299–300).

onha is already known to us as the earliest convert and as a sort of beloved disciple. The noble Frashaoshtra, vizir and attendant upon Vishtāspa's throne, shows his faithful devotion to the Messenger of Ormazd by giving his daughter Hvōgvī (Hvōvi) to be a wife to him. And lastly Jāmāspa, the wise counsellor and chancellor of the king, and brother to Frashaoshtra, proves to be so sage an adviser, as time goes on, and so valued a supporter of the Creed, that Zoroaster's prophetic mantle descends upon his shoulders after the death of the great high priest, and King Vishtāsp ordains him as the holy successor in the pontifical office.[1] It was he, according to tradition, who originally wrote down the 'Avesta and Zand' from the teachings of Zoroaster.[2] With regard to these personages of the Gāthās, it is needless to add references to the Pahlavi literature.[3] Some other details respecting them have been given above in Chapter II. A single quotation from the Avestan Psalms may be added here. It is from the Gāthā Ushtavaitī (Yasna 46. 14 seq.). The Prophet with his own lips asks a question, and in rhetorical style he gives the answer himself.

'Who is it, O Zarathushtra, that is thy righteous friend; or who is it that wishes to be renowned for his great virtue? It is the warrior Vishtāspa, and, with the words of Vohu Manah (Good Thought) I invoke those in his abode whom he has converted by his praising (the Religion).

'Of you, ye children of Haēcaṭ-aspa, descendants of Spitāma, will I say this: that ye did distinguish the good from the evil, (and) ye have won for yourselves Asha (Righteousness)[4] by such acts as are the first laws of Ahura.

'Do thou, O Frashaoshtra, son of Hvōgva, go thither with the elect whom we wish to be in bliss; (go thither) where Ārmaiti (Har-

[1] See my note in *Mélanges Charles de Harlez*, pp. 138–139, Leyde, 1896.

[2] About B.C. 591; for the references, see Chap. VIII., pp. 97, 117, and Appendix III.

[3] E.g. Dk. 9. 28. 5, and scores of others, as a glance at the Indexes to West's 'Pahlavi Texts' in the Sacred Books of the East will show.

[4] Lit. 'have given Asha to yourselves.'

mony, genius of the Earth) is united with Asha (Righteousness), where Vohu Manah's Kingdom (Khshathra,) is established, according to desire, and where Ahura Mazda dwells amid abundance, and where, O Jāmāspa, son of Hvōgva, I shall proclaim the ordinances which are yours (ye Archangels) and nothing which is not in harmony with your ordinances.'[1]

Similar personal situations and allusions to the faithful are indicated in Ys. **51.** 16 seq., **53.** 1 seq., and elsewhere in these metrical hymns. But enough! The principal points regarding Zoroaster's own immediate family have been presented in Chapter II., which deals with that subject. The genealogical table of the Hvōgva family was presented in that chapter because it shows the connections which arose by the intermarriage of Pourucista and Jāmāspa, and of Hvōgvī and Zarathushtra himself.[2] It is easy to see how Zoroaster made his position at court still stronger by allying himself closely with those next to the throne. For almost all of the statements that have been made thus far the Avesta itself has been the principal source.

Other Members of the Court Circle converted. — Among other conversions of those belonging to the immediate circle of the court of Vishtāspa, two must at once be mentioned. These are the king's brother Zairivairi (Phl., Mod. Pers. Zarēr, Zarīr) and the king's gallant son Spentō-dāta (Phl. Spend-dāṯ, Mod. Pers. Isfendīār). Their names do not happen to occur in the Gāthās, but they are mentioned foremost among the faithful in the Avestan Yashts; and the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ and Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār commend them to praise among the earliest converts. These special Pahlavi passages also show that many of the nobility were early attracted to the Creed. The Dīnkarṯ states: 'At first Zarīr, Spend-dāṯ, Frashōshtar, and Jāmāsp,

[1] Ys. **46.** 17. I omit the latter part of this stanza, as unnecessary in this connection. For translations of this Gāthā, see also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 307–308; Geldner, *BB.* xiv. 23 seq.; Mills, *SBE.* xxx. 142 seq.; de Harlez, *Av. trad.* 2d ed. pp. 353–354; Spiegel, *Avesta*, übersetzt, ii. 155.

[2] See Chap. II., pp. 21-22, and compare also Dk. **9.** 44. 16–19; **9.** 45. 2–6, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 297–300.

several of the realm who were noble, conspicuous, and well-acting, the good and princes of mankind, beheld visibly the will and desirableness of Aūharmazd and the archangels, and the progressive religion of the creatures, fit for those completely victorious.'[1] The Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār adds its testimony, that 'Kaī Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr and other (royal) sons, instigating the many conflicts and shedding the blood of those of the realm, accepted the religion as a yoke, while they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[2] With regard to Spend-dāṯ (Spentō-dāta, Isfendiār) it is interesting to observe that the late Persian authority Mirkhond conveys the idea that this heroic youth was largely instrumental in inducing the king, his father, to adopt the Faith which he himself apparently had already accepted.

With the conversion of Zarīr to the Religion, later tradition associates also that of the old King Lohrāsp (Av. Aurvaṯ-aspa), who has abdicated and is supposed still to be alive, although the Avesta makes no special mention of his name in connection with the Creed.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is not altogether precise, but it includes Lohrāsp as 'the old king' among the number who, with Zarīr and other nobles, 'girded themselves with the sacred cord and became converted' to the faith which Vishtāsp had adopted.[4] The later Persian Dabistān, on the authority of the Behdīnians ('those of the good Faith') gives the specific occasion of the conversion of these two, somewhat picturesquely as follows: 'The doctors of the pure faith record that King Lohrāsp and Zarīr, brother to Gushtāsp, having fallen into so violent a malady that the physicians in despair desisted from all attendance upon them; but having been restored to health

[1] Dk. 5. 2. 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 125.

[2] SgV. 10. 67 (West's translation, *SBE.* xxiv. 171).

[3] Simply Yt. 5. 105, Aurvaṯ-aspa as father of Vishtāspa. Very doubtful are Yt. 24. 34, 46, as the word is there apparently an attribute.

[4] ShN. *bibastand kuštī bah dīn āmadand;* ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1498; cf. trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

through the prayers of Zardusht, they adopted the pure faith.'[1] Another instance of faith cure or healing by Zoroaster, aided, however, by herbs, will be recorded below. Zoroaster himself, however, speaks of his own office as 'the physician of the soul.'[2]

Conclusion.—The real success which Zoroaster won was first due to the influence of the king and the court. The Gāthās give us some idea of Zoroaster's preaching before the assembled community. His were new words and they were listened to by those who came from near and far (e.g. Ys. **45**. 1). With royal authority to back the Religion and noble power to support it, the advance and spread of the Faith must have been rapid, and accounts will next be given of other conversions and of the history of the religious propaganda.

[1] Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 255. Compare similarly Atkinson, *Firdausī Shāh Nāmah*, p. 258, ll. 4–10.

[2] Av. *ahūmbīš*, Ys. **31**. 19; **44** 2, 16.

CHAPTER VII

PROMULGATION OF THE GOSPEL

EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA

yā jvantō vīspəng vāurayā. — AVESTA, Ys. 31. 3.

INTRODUCTION, THE CYPRESS OF KISHMAR — CONVERSIONS MORE NUMEROUS; SPREAD OF THE GOSPEL; EARLY RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA — SPREAD OF THE RELIGION IN IRAN — SOME CONVERSIONS IN TURAN — AVERRED CONVERSIONS OF HINDUS — STORY OF THE BRAHMAN 'CANGRANGHĀCAH' — THE HINDU SAGE 'BĪĀS' — FABLED GREEK CONVERSIONS — DID ZOROASTER VISIT BABYLON? — CONCLUSION

Introduction, the Cypress of Kishmar. — In telling the story of Zoroaster and of Vishtāspa's embracing the new Faith, the Shāh Nāmah narrates how Zardusht planted a cypress-tree before the door of the fire-temple at Kishmar, in the district of Tarshīz in Khorassān or Bactria, as a memento of Vistāspa's conversion, and had inscribed upon its trunk that 'Gushtāsp had accepted the Good Religion.'[1] Marvellous became the growth and age of this wonderful tree, the famous cypress of Kishmar (*sarv-i Kishmar*), as recounted by the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, Dabistān, and other writings, as mentioned by Hyde and noticed more fully below in Appendix IV.[2] The allegory is rather fine; the tree typifies by its spreading branches the rapid advance of the Creed under the fostering care of the king and the court.

[1] *Kīh paδiruft Gušt̄āsp dīn-i bahī*, ShN. ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1499; trad. Mohl, iv. 291–293; Farhang-i Jahāngīrī and the Muj. cited by Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* (1 ed.) 317, 327; the Dabistān, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309; Vullers, *Fragmente*, pp. 71, 72, 114–115; Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15; Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, 444; and Anquetil du Perron, as alluded to below in Appendix II. A, iii. f., n. 1, p. 164.

[2] See references in preceding note.

Other Conversions; Spread of the Gospel; Early Religious Propaganda. Outside of the immediate circle of the king, conversions begin rapidly to follow. The way no doubt had already been paved among the people, and Vishtāspa's own example and his enthusiastic zeal could but exercise wide-spread influence. With all the spirit and fire of a new convert he is untiring in his efforts for the establishment of the Faith. The unknown author of the Farvadīn Yasht, when he comes to Vishtāspa's name (Yt. 13. 99–100), breaks out into a eulogy: —

'It was this righteous and bold warrior,
The hero of redoubtable weapon,
The very incarnation of the Law
And devoted to the Lord—
It was he, who, with advancing weapon,
Sought out a broad path of Righteousness,
And, with advancing weapon,
Found the broad path of Righteousness.
He, it was, who became the arm
And the support of the Religion
Of Zarathushtra, of Ahura;
He, who dragged from her chains the Religion
That was bound in fetters and unable to stir;
And made her take a place
In the midst (of the nations),
Exalted with power, advancing and hallowed.'

We can but regret the loss of the eleventh Avestan Nask, which dealt particularly with the promulgation of the Faith. The Pahlavi treatise Dīn-Vijirkart̲ tells us of its missing contents as follows: 'In this Nask is the topic of the sovereignty of Gushtāsp, and Zaratūsht the Spītāmān, having brought the religion from Aūharmazd, King Gushtāsp accepted it, and made it current in the world,'[1] and the Persian Rivāyat of Kāmah Bahrah gives the same testimony.[2] It is true that the Bahman Yasht reserves till a generation later the accomplishment of the task of making the religion current in the 'whole' world, which is finally brought about by the Kayanian

[1] Dvj. § 11, tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 442. [2] Riv. 11. tr. West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 424.

'Arṭashīr (Kaī), whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāṭ.'[1] Later writers bear the same testimony to the tradition of Vishtāspa's religious energy. The Arab Ibn al-Athīr, for example, states that when Vishtāsp accepted the Faith 'he compelled his people to do the same and he killed a large number of them until they adopted it.'[2] This may be a later Mohammedan view, but there is no doubt that fire and the sword were not absent in the Avesta, and further evidences will be seen in the next chapter of propaganda by religious crusades at home and abroad. First we must notice the spread of the Creed in Iran itself.

Spread of the Religion in Iran. — It is tolerably certain that within Iran itself the fire of the Faith of Zoroaster rapidly spread, fanned, as it was, by the breath of sovereign power. Conversions were undoubtedly the order of the day; adherents continued to multiply and devoted volunteers began to crowd into the ranks which had been captained at the court. From the Avesta and from later literature we know the names of many of these. In the Yashts[3] we have a prose list of nearly a hundred sainted persons who are connected with the Vishtāspa circle. They are evidently the first disciples — the so-called Paoiryō-ṯkaēshas — of the Zoroastrian Creed.[4] How far and how fast the religion actually spread in the earliest period we do not know. We know, however, that the land of Seistān was one of the earliest scenes of the promulgation of the Faith, as will be seen by the sequel and proved by the Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of Sagastān,' elsewhere referred to. There were doubtless parts of Iran which were Zoroastrian only in name. The surmises on the question of Vishtāspa's exact rank and

[1] Byt. 2. 17; the passage should be looked at in West's translation, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Yt. 13. 95–110.

[4] With such names in the Avestan list as Parshaṯ-gao, Saēna, Vohvasti, Isvant (Yt. 13. 96), we may compare the Pahlavi texts, Dk. 9. 24. 17; 9. 33. 5. The French translation of the Yashts by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 530 seq.) gives numerous identifications.

sovereignty have also been more than one. The problem of the exact lands and territories concerned, and at how early a period Persia Proper is to be included, requires discussion elsewhere. One thing is certain, that Zoroastrianism was destined to become the national religion of Iran.

Some Conversions in Turan. — Nor is the Creed circumscribed by the borders of Iran alone. From the Avesta we know that other lands and climes came in for a share of the good tidings of the Faith. The 'fravashis,' or guardian spirits of those who are righteous 'outside of the country,' or abroad, are invoked as well as those within the land.[1] All of which implies some lapse of time. And among a dozen such lands and countries, Turan comes in for a share of the blessing. Turanians are mentioned by name in the canonical list of the faithful whose 'fravashis,' or idealized spirits, are glorified (Yt. **13**. 111–129). In fact, among those catalogued for sainthood in the list is one Isvant, son of Varāza, whom the Dīnkarṭ counts as a Turanian when it includes his name as 'Isvant, son of Varāz, from the countries of Tūrān,' among those who will officiate on the last day at the general resurrection.[2] In the Gāthās themselves Zarathushtra devotes a stanza to the descendants of Fryāna of Turan, as he was one who had been attracted to the Prophet and is selected to receive a destined reward. Zoroaster speaks of him with favoring words (Ys. **46**. 12): —

'When Asha (Righteousness)[3] came unto those that are to be named as the children, and children's children, of Fryāna, the Turanian who zealously doth further the possessions of Ārmaiti,[4] and when Vohu Manah (Good Thought) took up his

[1] Ys. **26**. 9; Vsp. **16**. 2, *ādaŋyunąmca ašaonąm fravašayō yazamaide, uzdaŋyunąmca*, an idea of universal brotherhood.

[2] Dk. **9**. 33. 5, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 262; compare also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530, n. 179, and Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 143.

[3] I.e. instr. sg. as subject; so also below and elsewhere.

[4] I.e. increasing Earth by agricultural activity.

abode with them, (then) the Lord Mazda is announced to them to their comfort.[1]

'This man who among men did propitiate Spitāma Zarathushtra by his generosity, he is exalted to be praised; and the Lord Mazda gave life unto him, and Vohu Manah furthered for him his worldly goods, and him we regard as your goodly ally in Righteousness (Asha).'

A descendant of this virtuous Turanian house,[2] Yōishtō yō Fryānãm, is commemorated in a metrical passage of the Avesta, for his wisdom and for his victory over a malicious wizard Akhtya.[3] The episode is fully elaborated in the Pahlavi tale which bears the name Yōsht-ī Fryānō, and it need not be treated here.[4]

Averred Conversions of Hindus. — In the great Persian Chronicle Shāh Nāmah we have mention of the vigorous efforts that were made in the way of religious propaganda; Firdausī (or Daḳīḳī) speaks of Mobeds who were sent on this holy mission all over the world, assisted and aided by Isfendiār's conquering sword.[5] The land of 'Rūm,' or Asia Minor and the West, as well as Hindustān are included in the successful missionary fields. The earlier Pahlavi work, Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār (A.D. ninth century) narrates the same fact when it speaks of the valiant Spend-dāṯ and Zarīr, and of those other noble sons of Vishtāsp, who accepted the religion, of the con-

[1] Or 'for their protection.'

[2] The house of Fryāna has been aptly identified by Eugen Wilhelm with the family coming from Pīrān as ancestor, in the Shāh Nāmah. See his comment in *ZDMG.* xliv. 151, and compare also Justi, *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 251, and *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 106.

[3] This wizard is killed in the eightieth year of the Religion according to Zsp. 23. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 166. That date would answer to B.C. 551, see Appendix III.

[4] Cf. Yt. 5. 81–83, and the Pahlavi Yōsht-ī Fryānō, §§ 1–6, tr. by West and Haug in *Arda Vīrāf*, pp. 247–266, London, 1872; also tr. by A. Barthélemy, *Une légende iranienne*, Paris, 1889. See West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 108, § 58, and Peshotan Darab Behramjee Sanjana, *Dīnkarṯ*, vol. v. p. 305.

[5] Further references will be given in the next chapter; meanwhile notice Shāh Nāmah, iii. 1498 seq., ed. Vullers-Landauer, and the translation of Mohl, iv. pp. 344, 499, 513, 542, 558.

flicts and bloodshed, and says 'they even wandered to Arūm and the Hindūs, outside the realm, in propagating the religion.'[1] The claim to Indian converts is quite persistent in the later writings, which is not so strange when we consider the Indo-Iranian kinship and the fact that the Parsis found in India an asylum from Mohammedan persecution.

Story of the Brahman 'Cangranghācah.' — The most interesting episode, perhaps, of the foreign conversions is the later Persian story which is told of Cangranghācah, a Brahman sage who comes from India to Vishtāsp's court in order to refute Zoroaster's doctrines, but the Hindu teacher himself is taught by the greater master and becomes a devoted convert of the Priest of Iran. This picturesque narrative is recounted, with other matters, in the Cangranghācah Nāmah, a modern Persian poetical work of the thirteenth century.[2] The author of this treatise is stated to be Zartusht Bahrām Pazhdū, of the ancient city of Raī, who also composed the Zartusht Nāmah; and like the latter work it is claimed to be drawn from Pahlavi sources, if we may agree with Anquetil du Perron, who is our chief source of information on the subject.[3] This story of the Brahman's conversion is briefly repeated in the Dabistān and it is alluded to incidentally in the text of the Dasātīr and described in its commentary.[4] All this implies some currency of the tale. A brief abstract of the narrative, so far as it relates to the main event, is worth giving, and it is here presented, being

[1] Sgv. 10. 67–68, West, *SBE.* xxiv. 171.

[2] Ms. in Fonds d'Anquetil, 10. Supplément d'Anquetil, 13.

[3] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, n., pp. 47–53, and p. xxxiii.; also i. Pt. 1, p. dxxxvi. § 67; and again, ii. p. 790, Index. The value of this treatise is not very highly esteemed by Spiegel, *Die Traditionelle Literatur der Parsen*, ii. 182, nor by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 445. But its reputation may grow like the Zartusht Nāmah. For other references, see farther on.

[4] Dabistān, tr. by Shea and Troyer, i. 276–277; Desatir, (Dasātīr) tr. by Mulla Firuz Bin Kaus, Bombay, 1818, ii. 125–126. See Appendix VI. On the character of the Dasātīr, see also Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412.

based on the fuller account of the Cangranghācah Nāmah found in Anquetil.[1]

Sketch of the Incident. — The aged Brahman sage, Cangranghācah, is a philosopher whose learning and wisdom were far-famed throughout India and known in Iran. He is reported even to have been the teacher of Jāmāsp, minister to King Vishtāsp, whose devotion to Zoroaster is regarded as a fall from grace. Accordingly the Brahman writes to Vishtāsp a letter remonstrating with the monarch for believing in the upstart Prophet. At the proposal of Vishtāsp he finally comes himself to 'Balkh' with a great following of devoted disciples, in order to debate with Zoroaster and to put the impostor to confusion. But he who came to scoff remains to pray. Zoroaster is prepared by premonition to answer all the seer's questions before he asks them; and amid a great assemblage of learned men who have gathered from many parts of the country to listen for days to the religious debate, the chosen Priest of Ormazd disarms his antagonist before the latter has time to lift his weapons in discussion and conflict. By reading a Nask or book of the Avesta, in which every difficult question prepared by the Hindu controversialist is already answered, he astonishes and utterly confounds the Brahman. So completely is the Hindu philosopher vanquished and convinced, that with remarkable candor he forthwith acknowledges his defeat, is converted, adopts the Faith, receives a copy of the Avesta from Zoroaster's own hands, becomes a zealous adherent, and joins in spreading the Prophet's teachings in Hindustān and the adjacent countries, so that eighty thousand souls in this way receive the enlightenment of the true Faith. A festival is instituted to commemorate this important event. Such in brief is the story, which remotely reminds us of the ecclesiastical convocations and the discussions and disputations of Luther.

This legend, as stated, seems rather to be of later origin, and

[1] Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, pp. 47–53.

it may have arisen after Zoroastrian believers found refuge in India in Mohammedan days; and where, as time went on, Brahmans and Dasturs perhaps came into debate and conflict. Nevertheless it is as old as the Zartusht Nāmah, which has been proved to contain old material, and it is by the same author, as already explained; and religious intercourse and connection between India and Iran at all periods in history is undoubted.[1] No great religion is confined to the bounds of its own country. And as for religious controversies and debates, nothing is more common. The Avesta alludes to a victorious debate with Nāidyāh Gaotema, whom some have tried, among several other suggestions, to identify with this same Brahman Cangranghācah.[2] The Pahlavi texts speak of Zaratūsht's discussions with learned men whose questions he is able to answer even before they ask them. The statements on this subject have been given above.[3] It is possible that in the Avesta we may discover the source of the story, which seems to be somewhat legendary, in a mistaken view that the Avestan adjective *caŋraŋhāc* (Vsp. 1. 1, etc.) contains an allusion to a proper name. Anquetil du Perron himself understood that epithet in the Visperad as an allusion to the Hindu sage.[4] On the other hand some have seen in this tradition of an Indian wise man, who comes to Iran, a late story concocted as an allusion to the famous Vedāntist philosopher, S'aṅkara-Ācārya.[5] This view

[1] The references of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Shāh Nāmah to Zoroastrianism in India have been given above. Furthermore, on relations and intercourse between Persia and India in religious matters, see Shea and Troyer's note in *Dab.* i. 276 n.; also the story of Bīās, next to be given; and p. 72, n. 3.

[2] Yt. 13. 16, see Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, who suggests the possibility; but this is rejected by Justi, *Hāb. d. Zendsprache*, s.v. *gaotəma*. The other identifications that have been suggested for Gaotema are discussed in Appendix II., p. 177–178.

[3] See p. 61, and cf. Dk. 7. 4. 73; 5. 2. 10; Zsp. 23. 5 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 67, 124, 164).

[4] *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 92, and p. 51.

[5] See Bréal, *Le Brahme Tchengrénghātchah*, in *Journal Asiatique*, 1862, p. 497. Compare also Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, i. 276, n. (Paris, 1843); and Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 444, n.

is especially based on an identification of the great philosopher's name with the form of the Brahman's name which is found in the Dasātīr (vol. ii. 125) as Sankarākās (for which the Commentary understands Cangranghācah).[1] Such a view is to be maintained only by premising that we are to regard the story as a later invention, purposely made up to exalt the triumph of an Iranian over a Hindu philosopher.

The Hindu Sage 'Bīās.' — A sequel to the story of the conversion of Cangranghācah is found in the tale of 'Bīās' told in the Dasātīr and repeated from this source by the author of the Dabistān.[2] The account describes how, when the news of Cangranghācah's confession became noised abroad, another sage, Bīās (i.e. Vyāsa) by name, came from India to Iran in order to refute Zoroaster and to convert him. Like his predecessor, however, Bīās is soon impressed by Zardusht's superhuman knowledge and divine insight, which penetrates even into the inmost thoughts of his soul, so that he also accepts the religion, or (to quote the actual words of the Dasātīr commentary) 'he returned thanks to Yezdān and united himself to the Behdīn, after which he returned back to Hind.'[3] This story is merely a counterpart of the preceding — a combination of legend and myth that seeks to bring Vyāsa, the fabulous author of the Vedas, into connection with Zarathushtra.

Fabled Greek Conversions. — The statements of the Pahlavi Shikand Gūmānīk Vijār and of the Persian Shāh Nāmah have already been given as claiming traditionally that the West (Phl. Arūm, Pers. Rūm)[4] came under Zoroaster's influence. The tradition is late, but in one respect it might not be so far from the truth if we should choose to look at Zoroastrianism simply in the light of Mithra-worship which, as is well known,

[1] The Desatir (Dasātīr), Bombay, 1818, vol. ii. 125. See Appendix VI., where the passage is reprinted.

[2] Dasātīr ii. 126-143 (§§ 65-162) and Dabistān, i. 280-283.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 144; Dabistān, i. 280-283. See Appendix VI.

[4] The comprehensive term to denote Asia Minor, Greece, and the Roman Empire.

pushed its way even far into Europe. It is not unnatural, moreover, for religious devotees to lay claims to extraordinary foreign missionary conquests. This third great debate or theological dispute into which Zoroaster is presumed to have entered and to have come off victorious, is with a Greek philosopher and master, as recorded in the Dasātīr and noticed by the Dabistān.[1] The account is doubtless apocryphal, but it deserves consideration with the other alleged conversions, and there is perhaps a far-off echo of it in Hamzah of Isfahān, in a passage which describes how the Greeks evaded attempts to convert them, and the passage is given below in Appendix IV.[2]

Briefly the Dasātīr story of this conversion incident is as follows: In a prophetic passage the text of the Dasātīr tells how a wise man, named Tiānūr (Pers. Tūtiānūsh) or Niyātūs, as the Dabistān calls him,[3] 'will come from Nūrākh (Pers. Yunān, i.e. Greece) in order to consult thee (O Zardusht) concerning the real nature of things. I will tell thee what he asketh and do thou answer his questions before he putteth them.'[4] The commentary upon this passage and also the Dabistān expressly state that the sages of Greece despatched this learned man after Isfendīār had promulgated the Faith in many lands. We may therefore infer that the event, if it occurred at all, took place some years after King Vishtāsp had accepted the Religion. The god Mazda, on this occasion likewise, instructs his prophet what he shall say and how he shall respond to the foreigner who is described as coming to 'Balkh.'[5] Ormazd assures Zardusht of success, and the commentary adds that 'when the Yunānī (i.e. Greek) sage heard all these words (of Zardusht), he entered into the Faith and

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 120–125 (§§ 42–62); Dabistān, i. 277–278.

[2] For the original, see Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī, *Annales*, ed. Gottwaldt, p. 26; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33 and also p. 199 below.

[3] Dasātīr, ii. 120; Dabistān, i. 277, and Shea and Troyer's note to the passage. On the language of the Dasātīr, see what is said in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412.

[4] Dasātīr, ii. 120, §§ 42–43.

[5] See commentary upon Dasātīr, ii. 120, § 43; reprinted in Appendix VI.

studied knowledge under the beloved of God, Zardusht the Prophet. (As a reward, moreover), the king of kings, Gushtāsp, bestowed on him the office of Chief of the Hirbeds of Yunān, and of the Mobeds of that country. The accomplished man (accordingly), having returned back to Yunān, brought over the inhabitants to the religion of that blessed Prophet.'[1]

This story, whatever may be its worth or its worthlessness, is not uninteresting because it shows the existence of a tradition on the Oriental side regarding early connections between Iran and Greece in which religious matters came into play. There may, of course, lurk in such tradition some reminiscence of intercourse between the nations prior to the Graeco-Persian wars. The note of Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī on some attempt to spread Zardusht's Gospel among the Hellenes has been mentioned above, with a Pahlavi reference also and a tradition in Firdausī.[2] We must not forget that the Dīnkarṭ asserts that a Greek translation was made of the Avesta.[3] We may furthermore recall several allusions of the Greeks themselves to the effect that Plato, Hermodorus, Theopompus, and others came under the influence of Magian doctrines.[4] The name of this Grecian converted sage (Tiānūr, Tūtiānūsh, or Niyātūs) is very obscure and the reading is uncertain. But an identification with Pythagoras has been suggested on the basis of the point just presented.[5] Whether founded on fiction, as is likely, or based upon fact, as is unlikely, the account merits recording and is fully given in Appendix VI. below, while the classical passages on Pythagoras, who is said to have studied in Babylon under the Magi, and on Plato might be worth looking over again in Appendix V., and in Chapter I., p. 7, n. 5.

Did Zoroaster ever visit Babylon? — In this same connection, when speaking of Babylon, it may be appropriate perhaps to

[1] Dasātīr, ii. 125, § 62, commentary and text.

[2] See pp. 78, 84, 88.

[3] Dk. 3 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi.).

[4] For references, see Chap. I., pp. 7–8.

[5] See Troyer's note on Dabistān, i. 277. I should think 'Plato' might be as plausible a suggestion.

mention a statement made by the Pahlavi Dīnkarṭ which ascribes to the religion of Zaratūsht the overthrow of error and evil in 'Bāpēl,' and it accounts this achievement as one of the marvels of the Faith.[1] The passage speaks of the existence of 'several matters of evil deceit which Dahāk had done in Bāpēl through witchcraft; and mankind had come to idol-worship through that seduction, and its increase was the destruction of the world; but through the triumphant words of the religion which Zaratūsht proclaimed opposing it, that witchcraft is all dissipated and disabled.'[2]

There is of course a distant possibility that after the Faith became fairly established Zoroaster himself actually did go on missionary journeys, teaching and preaching and exercising the influence of his own strong personality, We need only think of the three brief years of our Lord's ministry. At all events it is not wholly impossible to believe that several places were visited, perhaps including Persepolis also,[3] even if we are not prepared to accept so extravagant a view as that Babylon was among the number. It is true that some of the classical writers make Pythagoras a follower of Zoroaster or at least of the Magi, who were established at Babylon and into whose mysteries he was initiated.[4] The theory of personal travel need not be pressed too far; where the effect of the Religion came, there also the Master himself had gone in influence, if not in person. In

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 72, West's translation in *SBE.* xlvii. 66.

[2] The text does not indicate at what time in Zoroaster's career this event is supposed to have been brought about, or whether it did not come to pass later through the developments and spread of the Religion. The actual fall of Babylon occurred a generation after the Prophet. One might possibly conjecture from the passage that 'the Religion' perhaps joined hands with the conqueror Cyrus in destroying this city, which is spoken of with hatred in the Avesta as 'Bawri'; cf. Yt. 5. 29–31; cf. 15. 19–21. In Mkh. 27. 64–67, the old king, Lohrāsp, is regarded as having destroyed Jerusalem and dispersed the Jews, a statement which is found elsewhere; see West, *SBE.* xxiv. 64. Somewhat similar is Dk. 5. 1.5, cf. *SBE.* xlvii. 120. Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, might be noticed.

[3] See references to Istakhr already given, and also below in Appendix IV.

[4] See references in Chap. I., pp. 7–8, and in Appendix V.

this we have only another phase of the footprints of Buddha. Regarding Babylon, moreover, everything which associates Zoroaster's name with this city can but be of interest to the student of the Exilic Period of the Bible.

Conclusion. — The story of the spread of the Faith, so far as we can gather it from tradition, implies that missionary efforts carried the Avesta to foreign lands as well as throughout the territory of Iran. Tales are told of Hindu conversions, and even Greeks are fabled to have accepted the Creed. Zoroaster himself may possibly have engaged personally in the general movement of the propaganda, but there is no proof that he visited Babylon. His time no doubt was constantly taken up in working for the Faith; some of the results which were achieved and some of the events which happened in the following years of the Religion are recorded in the next two chapters.

CHAPTER VIII

DEVELOPMENT OF THE RELIGION

THE NEXT FEW YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

Homo in sacerdotio diligentissimus.
— CICERO, *Oratio pro Rab. Perd.* 10. 27.

INTRODUCTION — RECORD OF A NOTEWORTHY CONVERSION — TRADITION OF ZOROASTER'S HEALING A BLIND MAN — QUESTION OF ZOROASTER'S SCIENTIFIC KNOWLEDGE — OTHER ITEMS OF INTEREST, INCIDENTS, AND EVENTS — THE SACRED FIRES — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Zoroaster's life was a long one and his ministry covered a number of years; yet tradition does not give us all the details which we might wish so as to be able more definitely to mark off into periods or epochs the fifteen years or more that intervened between Vishtāspa's conversion and the beginning of the Holy Wars that were waged against Arejat-aspa. In other words, we are not altogether clear in dividing up and distributing the events that seem to have happened, roughly speaking, between Zoroaster's forty-fifth year and the sixtieth year of his life. We certainly know they must have been active years, the years of a man of vigorous mind who has just passed his prime, and no doubt some of the events which have been described in the preceding chapter may belong to this time, or even possibly later. The foregoing chapter, in fact, perhaps leaves an impression of too great precision in the distribution of its incidents. We may therefore take it with some latitude in connection with the present. If an attempted distinction is to be drawn, as the latter chapter dealt mainly with promulgation and conversion, this one may deal

rather with the ministration and organization, with missionary labors and the exercise of priestly functions. It must be kept in mind, however, that trying to locate in it the events which may have occurred at this time is a task that is difficult to perform with much satisfaction, and the work may be regarded rather as tentative, and as an endeavor to use material which remains at hand.

Record of a Noteworthy Conversion. — One event, however, is definitely located for us by tradition as belonging to a specific year in this period. The circumstance must have been regarded as one of real importance, owing to its being so emphatically chronicled; we shall therefore notice it at once. It is the conversion of a heretic, a Kavīg or ungodly priest, who is won over to the true Faith. This is recorded in the Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, which say: 'In the twentieth year (of the Religion) the Kavīg who is son of Kūndah is attracted (to the Faith).'[1] Although the name is not definitely known, the incident is none the less sure; and if we accept the traditional date of 'the twentieth year' of the Religion, we may set down this event for B.C. 611,[2] at which time Zoroaster would have been in the fiftieth year of his age. All this makes the incident not without interest.

Tradition of Zoroaster's healing a Blind Man. — In connection with Zoroaster's ministry and possibly as a reminiscence of a missionary journey, or work in that field, unless we are to refer it to an earlier period of his career, we may make mention here of a legendary story of his healing a blind man. The story is told by Shahrastānī of Khorassān (A.D. 1086–1153) who locates the scene rather in Persia Proper.[3] The

[1] Zsp. 23. 8, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165. The reading of the proper name from the Pahlavi is not certain. West's note on the passage offers 'Kūnīh' as a possibility.

[2] According to the Būndahishn chronology worked out by West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[3] My attention was first drawn to this story by a letter from Prof. G. F. Moore, Andover, Mass., dated June 23, 1892.

account runs as follows: 'As he (i.e. Zardusht) was passing a blind man in Dīnawar,[1] he told them to take a plant, which he described, and to drop the juice of it into the man's eyes, and he would be able to see; they did this and the blind man was restored to sight.'[2] Even if this incident should belong to an earlier period of Zoroaster's life, or to the time of his wandering, it nevertheless serves to show a tradition that miraculous healing power was believed to be exercised both by Zoroaster and by virtue of the Faith itself. The latter point might find sufficient exemplification in the Avestan Vendīdād.

Question of Zoroaster's Scientific Knowledge. — The tradition which has just been recounted of the healing of the blind man brings up another point which requires note. This is the question of Zoroaster's scientific knowledge, which is a side of his character that is distinctly recognized by tradition, and which must have come into play in his ministry. There is evidence that he showed a practical bent of mind in his work as well as the theoretical and speculative turn in his teaching. All accounts of the Religion indicate that the necessity of ministering to the wants of the body, as well as to the needs of the soul, was fully comprehended. Nor is medical knowledge to-day regarded as unessential or to be dispensed with in some branches of foreign missionary work. The records of antiquity imply that the Zoroastrian books, by their encyclopædiac character, stood for many sides of life. Some of the original Nasks of the Avesta are reported to have been wholly scientific in their contents, and the Greeks even speak of books purported to be by Zoroaster on physics, the stars, and precious stones.[3] It is true these need not have come from Zoroaster at

[1] This village is located by Yāḳūt, twenty farsangs from Hamadān; it lies between this and Kīrmānshāh. See Barbier de Meynard, *Dictionnaire de la Perse*, p. 251, p. 367 (Shīz), 515 (Māh-Dīnār); and for a description of the place see de Morgan *Mission scientifique en Perse;* Paris, 1894–97, especially tome iv. p. 290.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 50.

[3] See p. 8 above, and Appendix V. below, under Suidas and Pliny.

all; but this represents a phase of life that Zoroaster or his apostles stood for. Tradition recognizes the presence of this practical element in the Religion which made it appeal to many who might not otherwise have been attracted, and which must have contributed in no small degree to its spread. The priests were the real conservators of knowledge and learning.

As an illustration of their practical knowledge, so serviceable to mankind, we may notice a passage in the Dīnkart, which claims that the debt owed to Zoroaster in this respect is extensive. The text reads: 'One marvel is the disclosure by Zaratūsht, in complete beneficence, medical knowledge, acquaintance with character, and other professional retentiveness, secretly and completely, of what is necessary for legal knowledge and spiritual perception; also, the indication by revelation, of the rites for driving out pestilence, overpowering the demon and witch, and disabling sorcery and witchcraft. The curing of disease, the counteraction of wolves and noxious creatures, the liberation of rain.'[1] This and a number of ordinary practices, which have a bearing upon every-day life, are included in this list of what the Pahlavi text calls 'worldly wisdom' (*gehānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*), as contrasted with 'angelic wisdom' or 'divine knowledge' (*yazdānŏ-xiraṯŏīh*).[2] The brief résumé sums up what was expected to be found in the repertory of the wandering Āthravan, or descendant of the Prophet, at least in Sassanian times, and quite as likely it represents some of the sides of Zoroaster's own activity during the long period of his ministry.

Other Items of Interest, Incidents, and Events. — Tradition has preserved a few more items of interest, incidents, or occurrences and events which may belong to the period of these years. A suggestion has been made that Zoroaster may have visited his own home in his native land of Ādarbáijān. Anquetil even thought that Urumiah is mentioned in the Avesta in

[1] Dk. 7. 5. 8–9, translated by West. [2] See West's note in *SBE.* xlvii. 76. *SBE.* xlvii. 75–76.

an injunction given by Ahura Mazda bidding Zarathushtra, as he conceived it, to proceed to a certain place. But this is a mistaken interpretation of the passage.[1] Anquetil also understood that Zoroaster and Vishtāsp were together in Istakhr (Persepolis).[2] This view is apparently based upon the fact that Zoroaster induces Vishtāsp to transfer one of the sacred fires from Khorasmia to Dārābjard, in Persia, as stated by Masūdī,[3] and based upon Ṭabarī (and Bundarī after him) who describes how the Avesta was written down in golden letters upon the hides of twelve thousand oxen and 'Vishtāsp placed this at Istakhr in a place called Darbīsht (or Zarbīsht?).'[4] This may be noticed also in connection with the tradition of Jāmāsp's writing down the Avesta from Zoroaster's teachings (p. 76), and is also brought up in connection with the tradition that the archetype copy of the Avesta was deposited in the 'treasury of Shapīgān' (or however we are to read the name and its variants) as discussed below in Appendix IV.

During this period we can likewise imagine Zoroaster as otherwise much engaged in organizing the new religion, in founding fire-temples as described below, and in exercising in various ways his function as Chief Priest; not the least of these perhaps was in establishing the rite of ordeal as already noticed, or in celebrating the event of Vishtāsp's conversion by planting the cypress of Kishmar, before described. There were also times when prophetic visions were granted and hallowed enunciations were made. The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht (and after it the Zartusht Nāmah) records a favored vision which was allowed to Zoroaster, in which he foresees, during a seven days' trance, the whole future of the Religion.[5] Even the Apocryphal New Testament in one passage claims that Zoroaster prophesied the

[1] Anquetil du Perron, i. Pt. 2, p. 52, n. 1. The misinterpretation of the words *Airyama Ishya* is repeated by Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[2] Anquetil du Perron, op. cit. p. 53 = Kleuker, *ZA.* Theil 3, p. 35.

[3] Masūdī, trad. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 75.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37; Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 315 (1 ed.).

[5] Bahman Yt. 2. 6–9, seq., tr. by West, *SBE.* v. pp. 191–235.

coming of Christ;[1] and a Syriac writer, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (A.D. 1250) tells a tradition of a special fountain of water, called Glōshā of Ḥōrīn, where the royal bath was erected and by the side of this fountain Zoroaster predicted to his disciples the coming of the Messiah.[2]

The Sacred Fires. — There can be little doubt that much of Zoroaster's time was spent in the care of the sacred fire or in the furthering of the special cult throughout the land. Tradition counts that one of the most important features of Vishtāspa's conversion was his active agency in founding new places in which the holy flame might be worshipped or in reëstablishing old Ātash-gāhs. In a special (prose) chapter, the Avesta describes the various sacred fires recognized by the Faith, and the Būndahishn gives additional details on the subject;[3] Firdausī mentions several so-called Fire-Temples,[4] and Masūdī, among other Mohammedan writers, devotes a number of pages to the subject of the Magian pyraea, several of which he says existed before Zoroaster came.[5] Numerous Arabic writers refer to the question, and as their references are accessible, they need only be summarized here.[6]

Masūdī and Shahrastānī tell of some ten different Pyraea or places of fire-worship which existed in Iran before Zoroaster's time, and they give the name or location of each. Zoroaster himself causes a new temple to be built in Nīshāpūr, and another in Nisaea.[7] Furthermore, at his request King Vishtāsp

[1] Apocr. NT. I. *Infancy*, ch. iii. 1.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29; Kuhn, *Eine Zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, p. 219 in Festgruss an Roth, Stuttgart, 1893; and Wallis Budge, *Book of the Bee*, p. 81 seq. in Anec. Oxon., Oxford, 1886. Of course compare Yt. 19. 89–95; Dk. 7. 8. 55.

[3] Avesta, Ys. 17. 11; cf. also Vd. 8. 73–96; Pahl. Bd. 17. 1–9. See especially Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 149–157.

[4] E.g. ShN. Mohl, iv. 291, 364, etc.

[5] Masūdī, *Les Prairies d'Or.* Texte et Trad. par C. Barbier de Meynard, iv. 72, 75 seq.; and see Shahrastānī, *Uebersetzt*, Haarbrücker, i. 275 seq.

[6] On the fires, see especially the material in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45–47; Hyde *Relig. Pers.* p. 353–362.

[7] Masūdī, *Prairies*, iv. 75; Shahrastānī, i. 276; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 47.

seeks for the fire of Jemshēd, which is found in Khorasmia, and he has it transferred to Dārābjard in Persia. This latter fire is said to be especially venerated by the Magi. Other Pyraea are mentioned in Seistān, Rūm (Constantinople), Bagdād, Greece (without the fire), India, and in China. Not without interest is the mention of the fire-temple in Kūmīs (Comisene) which bore the name of 'Jarīr,' apparently after Vishtāsp's son Zarīr.[1]

Among all the fires there seem to be three which stand, in later times of the Sassanians, as the threefold representative of the sacred element, corresponding to the social division of the community into three classes, priests, warriors, and laboring men.[2] The names of the three great fires are given as follows: —

1. Ātūr Farnbag, the fire of the priests. This fire, whose name appears as Farnbag, Frōbā, Khurrād, Khordād, being a corruption of * Hvarenō-bagha or * Hvarenō-dāta, i.e. 'the fire of the Glory Divine, or the fire Glory-Given,' is one of the most ancient and most sacred of the holy fires in Iran.[3] Existing as early as Yima's reign, and having been established in the Khorasmian land or the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea, it was removed by Kavi Vishtāspa to Cabul, if we are to accept the commonly received statements on the subject.[4]

[1] So Shasrastānī, i. 275, but seemingly a different reading or form of the name (i.e. Djerich) is found in Masūdī, iv. 74. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 45, 46.

[2] Bd. 17. 5–8, and Ys. 17. 11. Cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 149 seq., and Masūdī, loc. cit.

[3] Cf. *Ardā Vīrāf*, tr. Haug and West, p. 146, note; and Bd. 17. 5–6.

[4] So Bd. 17. 5–6 if we read the Pahlavi name as 'Kābul' with West (*SBE.* v. 63); otherwise we may understand it was removed, not eastward, but to the west, if we follow Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154, in doubting the reading 'Kāvul (Kābul)' which West, however, gives (*SBE.* v. 63). Darmesteter follows Masūdī, Shahrastānī, and Yāḳūt; similarly, Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (A.D. 910); Albīrūnī (p. 215, tr. Sachau) — all cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 43–47. The subject is also discussed below in connection with the scene of Zoroaster's ministry, Appendix IV., p. 217. It is evident that Shahrastānī's Āzarušā is for Ādarān shāh, 'king of fires,' Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 157, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 47.

2. Ātūr Gūshnasp (Gūshasp), the fire of the warriors. The name Gūshnasp is probably a corruption from *Varshanaspa, 'male-horse,' cf. Skt. *vṛṣaṇ-aśvá*, an epithet of Agni, as noted by Darmesteter. This was a very ancient fire and it early played a part when Kaī Khūsrav exterminated idol-worship. It was situated in the neighborhood of Lake Urumiah, or on Mount Asnavand upon the shores of that lake.[1] According to the Zaratusht Nāmah, this was one of the fires which came with the Archangels to aid in Vishtāspa's conversion as described in Chap. V., p. 65, n. 1.

3. Ātūr Būrzhīn Mitrō, the representative of the laboring class. The name, also in Persian, Burzīn Mihr, corresponds to *Berezant Mithra.[2] This third fire, or the special fire of the laborer, played an important part in Vishtāspa's conversion. This is located on Mount Raēvant in Khorassān in the vicinity of Lake Sōvar (mentioned in the Būndahishn), in the region of Ṭūs, as noticed also below in Appendix IV., p. 216.[3] A similar situation is given to it by Firdausī.[4] Perhaps there is an echo of the name of this fire lingering in the name of the small town Mihr to the west of Nīshāpūr, although for a fuller statement of Houtum-Schindler's view, reference is made to p. 216. Several of the Mohammedan writers, as noticed above, state that the special fire of Zoroaster was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. We recall that Khorassān was the land of the planting of the cypress of Kishmar, and the scene of the closing battles which ended the Holy War — all of which is of interest in connection with the field of Zoroaster's ministry.

Conclusion. — The aim of this chapter has been to present such material as we can gather for the events of Zoroaster's life during the years next preceding the outbreak of the Holy

[1] Bd. **17.** 7; Zsp. **6.** 22; West, *SBE.* v. 63, 173. See also p. 48 above.

[2] Cf. Av. *Miθrəm . . . bərəzantəm*, Yt. **10.** 7.

[3] Bd. **12.** 18. 32–35; Zsp. **6.** 22; cf. also Bd. **12.** 24; **22.** 3; West, *SBE.* v. 38, 41, 173. See likewise Anquetil du Perron, *ZA.* i. Pt. 2, p. 46, n. 2 (on Khorassān).

[4] Cf. ShN. iii. 1499, Vullers-Landauer = trad. Mohl, iv. 291.

Wars. In this way an impression has been gained of certain other sides of Zoroaster's character and activity, especially the practical side which his nature probably also had. The material from which to judge of these points, however, is found to be rather meagre. Finally, special attention has also been devoted to the subject of the spread of the fire-cult by Zoroaster and the work which was accomplished in founding new Ātash-gāhs or in reëstablishing the old Pyraea. But all these events did not come to pass without a struggle; nor were the actual results achieved without a hard fight. If the Faith which Vishtāspa has adopted is to become the state creed of the realm, this is not destined to come to pass without a struggle, especially with powers outside. Warfare is inseparable from crusading; and we see gathered in the horizon the clouds of the storm about to burst over Iran.

CHAPTER IX

THE HOLY WARS OF ZOROASTRIANISM

THE LAST TWENTY YEARS OF ZOROASTER'S LIFE

'Fight the good fight of faith.'
— TIMOTHY I. 6. 12.

INTRODUCTION — RELIGIOUS WARFARE IN THE AVESTA — AREJAṬ-ASPA, OR ARJĀSP AND THE HOLY WARS — OUTBREAK OF HOSTILITIES; CAUSES AND DATES — ARJĀSP'S ULTIMATUM — HIS FIRST INVASION; THE HOLY WAR BEGINS — ARJĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS LEADERS — VISHTĀSP'S ARMY AND ITS COMMANDERS — BATTLES OF THE FIRST WAR — ISFENDĪĀR AS CRUSADER, AND THE FOLLOWING EVENTS — ARJĀSP'S SECOND INVASION; THE LAST HOLY WAR — SUMMARY

Introduction. — Up to this point it might appear as if the progress of the Religion had been one only of success and smooth advance. Such, however, cannot have been the case in reality. We have to do with a church militant, and there is evidence, in its history, of more than one hard-fought battle before victory is achieved. Not all conversions were easily made. The sword rather than the olive-branch would be the more suitable emblem to deck the earlier pages of the history of the Faith.

Owing to circumstances the development of the idea of universal peace and of general good-will towards neighbors was not allowed to play so important a part as it might have played theoretically in the first stages of the new Religion. When crusading for the Faith began, bitter struggles and antipathies soon came into existence. The war-cry of creed *versus* unbelief begins to fill the air. Old political and

national feuds take on a new color — the tinge of religious antagonism. This latter statement is especially true of the ancient enmity between Iran and Ṭuran. This breaks out afresh in the form of a war of creeds between the Hyaonian leader Arejaṯ-aspa, as he is called in the Avesta, or Arjāsp of Turan, as he is later generally styled, and the pious hero of Zoroastrianism, Kavi Vishtāspa (Vishtāsp, Gushtāsp). Victory ultimately attends upon the Creed of the Fire and the Sacred Girdle, but the stages of progress have to be fought step by step. Bloodshed and distress precede success and triumph.

Religious Wars in the Avesta. — Before turning to the great Holy Wars against Arejaṯ-aspa, we must first notice that the Avesta also records several other violent conflicts which are looked upon in the light of hallowed warfare against unbelief. The Avesta mentions some eight powerful foes over whom Vishtāspa, or his gallant brother Zairivairi (Zarīr) invoke divine aid in battle, and victory descends upon their banners in answer to their prayers. We know at least the names of these vanquished warriors, for they are given in the Yashts. We read of Tāthryavant and Peshana,[1] Ashta-aurvant, son of Vīspathaurvō-ashti,[2] Darshinika and Spinjaurusha[3] and of Peshōcingha and Humayaka.[4] All are spoken of as infidels, heathen, heretics, or unbelievers. The details of the battles against them are unfortunately lost. In point of time some of these occurred in the period of conversions already described. From the claims of the sacred text we know that victory waited upon the faithful.

Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) and the Holy Wars. — The inveterate foe and mortal enemy of Vishtāspa, however, is Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp), or the infidel Turk, as later history would have styled him. He stands as the great opponent of the national Faith, and we are fortunate in having considerable traditional

[1] Yt. 5. 109; Yt. 19. 87; cf. Yt. 9. 31.
[2] So Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 439.
[3] Yt. 9. 30–31.
[4] Yt. 5. 113.

information preserved regarding these wars with him. They are of paramount importance in the history of Zoroaster and his Creed, and they require fuller discussion. Details of the campaigns may be gathered from the Avesta, the Pahlavi writings, the Shāh Nāmah, and from some allusions in Arab chroniclers. The account given in the Shāh Nāmah dates from the tenth century of our era, and it is partly by the hand of Firdausī's predecessor, Daḳīḳī, as Firdausī himself expressly states when he describes the thousand lines which he had received from Daḳīḳī in a dream — the thousand lines relating to Zoroaster and Gushtāsp and the founding of the Faith.[1] The principal references are here collected and presented for convenience.[2]

The warfare against Arejaṯ-aspa is known in the Pahlavi writings as 'the war of the religion.'[3] In the Avestan and Pahlavi texts Arejaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) is the leader of the hostile folk known as Hyaonians (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn). This nation has rightly or wrongly been identified with the Chionitae of the classics. This subject is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV. In any event Arejaṯ-aspa stands for the head

[1] See p. 5, n. 2; also see Mohl, trad. iv. 286–357, and consult Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] References to Arejaṯ-aspa and the Holy Wars: Avesta, Yt. 5. 109, 113–117; Yt. 19. 87; Yt. 9. 29–31 = Yt. 17. 49–51. — Pahlavi, Dk. 7. 4. 77, 83, 84, 87–89; 7. 5. 7; 5. 2. 12 (note by West); 5. 3. 1 (West, p. 126); 8. 11. 4; 9. 61. 12; 4. 21 (West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412); Bd. 12. 32–34; Byt. 3. 9 (and 2. 49, note by West); Zsp. 23. 8 (all these references are cited according to West's translations in the *Sacred Books*); furthermore, the Pahlavi Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān (which is constantly cited from the very useful contribution of Geiger, *Das Yātkār-i Zarīrān und sein Verhältnis zum Šāh-Nāme*, in Sb. d. k. bayer. Akad. der Wiss. 1890, Bd. ii. pp. 43–84. — Firdausī, Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, vol. iii. p. 1495 seq.; citations also made after the French translation by Mohl, *Le Livre des Rois*, iv. 293 seq. (Paris, 1877); cf. likewise the paraphase by J. Atkinson, *Shāh Nāmah, translated and abridged*, London and New York, 1886; furthermore, Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831. Pizzi's translation was not accessible. — Arabic Writers, Ṭabarī, extract quoted by Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 6–7, and by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster;* finally, Mirkhond, *History of Persia*, tr. by Shea, pp. 288–295, 313–326.

[3] E.g. Bd. 12. 33.

of the chief inimical power among the heathen ; the Shāh Nāmah regards him as the head of Turān, Turkestān, China.

We have evidence of two distinct invasions by Arjāsp's forces, although the Avesta does not make clear the fact that there were two wars. The Pahlavi texts are not so explicit on the subject as are the Shāh Nāmah and some works, but the traditional dates which cover a period of seventeen years, as given by the Pahlavi writings, allow the inference of the two wars or two invasions. Both these religious conflicts result in victory for Iran ; yet not without severest loss for a time. In the first war, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarēr, Zarīr) and the latter's son Bastavairi (Bastvār, so read for Nastūr)[1] are the heroes of the fight ; in the second war, Vishtāspa's son Isfendīār, by his deeds of marvellous prowess, eclipses even the glory of these two heroic combatants. It seems appropriate to give some description of these wars and some discussion of the subject because of its bearing upon the early history of Zoroastrianism. The sources have already been mentioned (pp. 5, 38) ; truly to appreciate the subject one ought to read the accounts of tradition, or of fiction as some may prefer to call it, in the Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān and in the Shāh Nāmah, which have been oftenest drawn upon. Here there is space merely to give excerpts from their descriptions or to give an outline of their contents.

Outbreak of Hostilities ; Causes and Dates. — If we accept the date given by the Zoroastrian tradition, which belongs to the time of the Sassanidae, it was some seventeen years after Vishtāspa's conversion that the war against Arejaṭ-aspa (Arjāsp) broke out. The Pahlavi selections of Zāṭ-sparam state that 'in the thirtieth year (of the Religion) the Khyōns arrive, who make an incursion into the countries of Iran.'[2] On the basis of traditional chronology, as worked out by Dr. E. W. West,

[1] These names belong to the Avesta, the Pahlavi, and the Shāh Nāmah.

[2] Zsp. 23. 8, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165.

we may place this event in the year B.C. 601.[1] The Shāh Nāmah likewise shows that, after the conversion of the king, some time must have elapsed before the great war began.[2] The day of the final battle of this war, it may be added, is given by the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān as Farvadīn.[3]

As for causes, the ostensible ground for the original difficulty was found in Vishtāsp's refusal to continue the payment of tribute and revenue to Arjāsp and in the latter's consequent and persistent pressing of his demand. So much, at least, for the pretence. The actual ground for difficulty, however, seems to have been the religious difference; for Vishtāsp's adoption of the new Faith really lies at the basis of the trouble. The religious question is certainly mixed up with the tribute matter. Perhaps one could hardly expect the two to be separated. The affair of the tribute is recorded in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṯ as well as in the Shāh Nāmah.[4] On the other hand, the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān makes the religious issue the main one.[5] In the Shāh Nāmah, when the question comes up, Zoroaster appears practically in the position of a cardinal vested with regal power and wielding a vigorous hand in matters of state. He urges Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) absolutely to refuse payment of the tax. The great Priest's personal interest in the political situation and problem to be settled is evidently largely governed by religious motives; Arjāsp, it is known, had declined to accept the true Faith.[6] In the Prophet's eyes, therefore, Turan is destined to be damned. Accordingly it is the Powers of Hell itself that rise up to inflame Arjāsp's fury against Iran. The Dīnkarṯ

[1] See West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[2] Cf. Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1500, *candī rōzgār*, and Mohl, iv. 293, 'quelque temps.' Note also that Zoroaster is now spoken of as 'old' (*pīr*); according to tradition he would have been sixty at the time. The Yāṯkār hardly implies the lapse of so long an interval, and it makes Zaratūsht play a lesser part than Jāmāsp who seems rather to be the religious adviser of the king.

[3] YZ. § 85 (Geiger).

[4] Dk. 7. 4. 77, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68; ShN. tr. Mohl, iv. 293.

[5] YZ. § 1 seq.

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 289, 294; YZ. § 1 seq.

believes that no less a personage than Aēshma, the Arch-demon of Wrath, conveyed clandestinely to Arjāsp the tidings of Vishtāsp's fixed and unswerving refusal. The statement tells the whole story: 'When Vishtāsp, accepting the religion, praises righteousness, the demons in hell are disabled; and the demon Aēshm (Av. Aēshma) rushes to the country of the Khyōns and to Arjāsp, the deadly one of the Khyōns, because he was the mightiest of tyrants at that time; and the most hideous of all, of so many of them in the country of the Khyōns, are poured out by him for war.'[1]

Arjāsp's Ultimatum. Arjāsp forthwith makes a formal demand in writing and states the conditions upon which alone he will remain at peace; and he adds an ultimatum to the effect that Gushtāsp (Vishtāspa) must abandon the new creed or be prepared to have the country of Iran invaded within two months.[2] The authority for these statements is to be found in the Yāṯkār and in the Shāh Nāmah; the details of the messages, whether fictitious or actual, are preserved in their purport and intention, at least, in these same works. The names of the two messengers whom Arjāsp despatches to convey this decisive letter have been preserved as Vīdrafsh and Nāmkhvāst of the Hazārs.[3] The problem of the location of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom and of the Hyaonians of the Avesta has already been alluded to and it is more fully discussed below in Appendix IV.[4] Here we shall only note that the Shāh Nāmah locates the Turanians on the other side of the Oxus and makes Arjāsp despatch his envoys from the city of Khallakh or Khallukh to Vishtāsp in Balkh. Although Zoroaster was the chief

[1] Dk. 7. 4. 87, tr. West, *SBE.* xlvii. 72, and see Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the demon of wrath.' Compare also the mention of 'wrath' in Byt. 3. 9, West, *SBE.* v. 218. The Shāh Nāmah has *narrah Dīvī*, ShN. iii. 1500, ed. Vullers-Landauer; cf. Mohl, iv. 293.

[2] On the time 'two months' see Shāh Nāmah, Mohl, iv. 298, and Yāṯkār, § 12.

[3] YZ. § 2 (Geiger, p. 47), ShN. Mohl, iv. p. 300. See also Dk. 7. 4. 77, 'the deputed envoys of Arjāsp . . . who demand tribute and revenue'; *sāk va-bāžō* (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 68).

[4] See p. 123 seq.

instigator of the trouble between the two rulers,[1] it is not unnatural, perhaps, that we find Jāmāsp assuming the chief rôle as counsellor, for he was prime minister, chancellor, and grand vizir.[2] On the receipt of the arrogant message, Vishtāsp's warlike brother Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, Phl., Mod. P. Zarēr, Zarīr) at once steps forward and boldly hurls defiance in the face of Arjāsp's messengers; he endites in response a stern letter, to which the king gives approval, and he hands it to the envoys to deliver on their return.[3] War is forthwith declared.

First Invasion of Arjāsp, and the Holy War. — The Dīnkarṭ states that the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta contained an account of 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of Wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht; the arrangements and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war, and whatever is on the same subject.'[4] This brief but clear outline makes us regret the more keenly the loss of so interesting a book of the Avesta. But doubtless considerable of the material has actually been preserved, as in other cases, in the Pahlavi and later Persian literature; and this fact lends more weight to the statements of the Pahlavi Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān and of the Shāh Nāmah as being actually based on old foundations and therefore worthy of real consideration. This should be kept in mind in the following pages and in the descriptions which they present.

The Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān and the Shāh Nāmah both give vivid pictures, with imaginative coloring, of the marshalling of the forces and the numbers of the opposing hosts. As is common even in modern historical records, the estimates of the number of men actually under arms differ considerably. For Arjāsp's

[1] Dk. 8. 11. 4, 'the outpouring of Arjāsp the Khyōn, by the demon of wrath, for war with Vishtāsp and disturbance of Zaratūsht.'

[2] YZ. § 3 (Geiger, p. 48); ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 300–317.

[3] YZ. §§ 10–13 (Geiger, pp. 49–50); ShN. Mohl, iv. 301–303.

[4] Dk. 8. 11. 4, West, *SBE.* xxxvii. 24.

army one section of the Yāṭkār gives the number as 131,000 men.[1] The Shāh Nāmah is not so explicit, but puts the forces of the two wings of Arjāsp's host, and of the reserve, at 300,000, without including the main body of the army.[2] On the other side Vishtāsp's army is actually estimated by the Yāṭkār at 144,000 men,[3] although it once speaks as if the number were innumerable;[4] whereas in the Shāh Nāmah the strength is merely stated in a vague way as 1000×1000.[5]

Arjāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The tradition upon which Firdausī, or rather Daḳīḳī, based his poetic chronicle is consistent throughout with respect to making the city of Khallakh the place from which Arjāsp set out upon his campaign. Again we miss the lost Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask of the Avesta alluded to above! The poet is even able to give the order in which Arjāsp arranged his troops for the invading march. This differs considerably from the actual plan of marshalling his forces and commanders when in battle array; but even a poet would recognize the likelihood of changes and alterations according to the exigencies of the campaign and situation. On the march the troops were disposed of in the order given in the diagram on page 110.[6]

The advance guard is entrusted to Khashāsh. The two wings are assigned respectively to Arjāsp's own brothers Kuhram and Andarīmān (cf. Av. Vandaremaini) with three hundred thousand picked men. The chief in command is given to Gurgsār, while the flag is entrusted to Bīdrafsh. Arjāsp himself occupies the centre for safety and convenience; and Hūshdīv brings up the rear.

As already noted, the above line of march, however, differs

[1] YZ. § 46, but a few lines farther on (§ 50) the number is mentioned as 12,000,000 (probably a mistake in a figure). The prose Shāh Nāmah Nasr mentions Arjāsp's conscription as '15,000 men'; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig.* p. 325 (1 ed.).

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 306, 319.

[3] YZ. § 49.

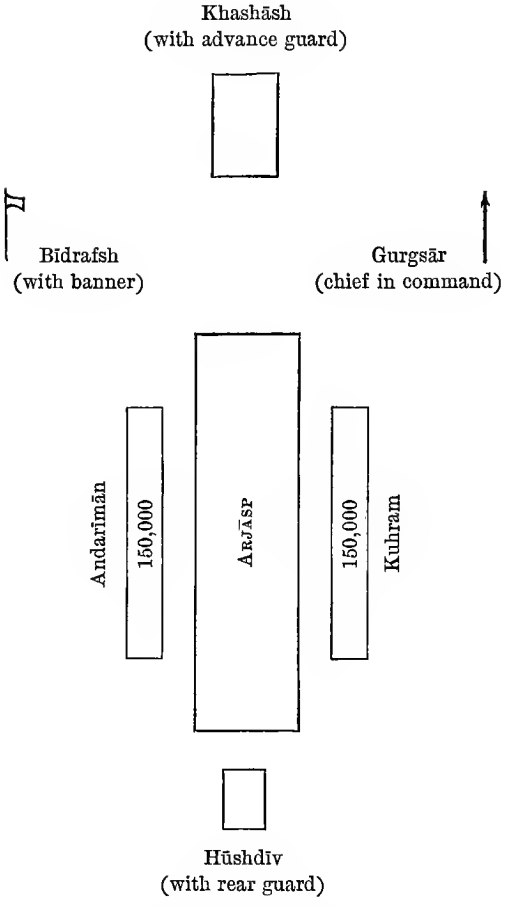
[4] YZ. § 16.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 308.

[6] See ShN. Mohl, iv. 306 (line of march), opposed to iv. 319 (order of battle).

ARJĀSP'S ORDER OF MARCH

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]

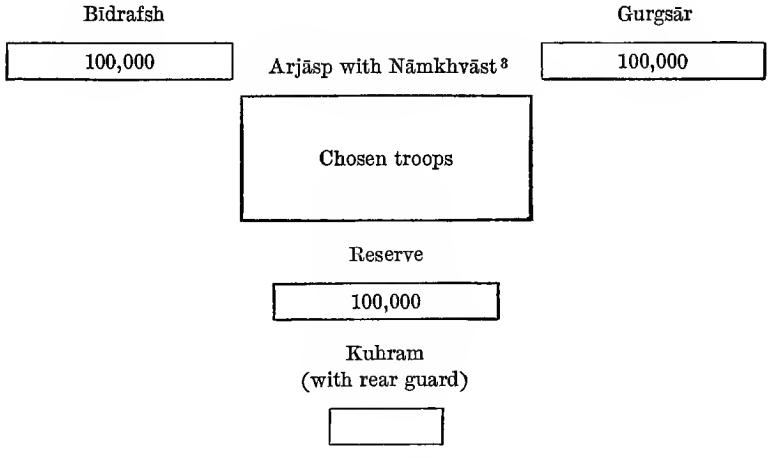


[1] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Xašāš*, p. 171; *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Andarīman* (*Wañdaremainiš*), p. 347; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Hūšdīv* (*Hōšdēw*), p. 131; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

from the arrangement of the forces in action on the field of battle. According to the picturesque account which is given in the Shāh Nāmah, we can imagine Arjāsp's forces drawn up in battle array in the manner indicated below. From the descriptions of the engagement it is evident that in Oriental fights, as often elsewhere, single deeds of great daring by brilliant leaders gain the day rather than combined efforts and the manœuvring of massed troops. We may conceive of the fortunes of the battle as guided by Ormazd and by Ahriman. The description in the Shāh Nāmah may indeed be poetic or journalistic, but it is worth reading, and the array of the enemy appeared as follows:[1]—

ARJĀSP'S ARRAY ON THE BATTLEFIELD

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[2]



Bīdrafsh and Gurgsār are given charge of the two wings with 100,000 men each. Nāmkhvāst with picked troops has

[1] See Mohl, iv. p. 319 (and contrast with iv. p. 306).

[2] See preceding note; and, for the proper names, compare Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, as follows: *Gurgsār*, p. 122; *Bīdrafš* (*Wīdrafš*), p. 368; *Nāmxvāst*, p. 220; *Kuhram*, p. 166; *Arjāsp*, p. 21.

[3] Cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 313, 319.

the centre where Arjāsp himself is stationed.[1] The reserve of 100,000 men is disposed in such a way as to support all the divisions. This time Kuhram[2] guards the rear, whereas Hūshdīv had held that position on the invading march. Among Arjāsp's leaders only two are really known to fame in the conflict: these are Nāmkhvāst and Bīdrafsh.[3]

Vishtāsp's Army and its Leaders. — The strength of Vishtāspa's forces has already been mentioned. The three principal heroes who win renown on the Iranian side are, first, Vishtāsp's intrepid brother, the valiant Zarīr (Av. Zairivairi, YZ. Zarēr, ShN. Zarīr);[4] second, the latter's son Bastvar (Av. Bastavairi, YZ. Bastvar, ShN. Nastūr);[5] and third, Vishtāspa's own glorious son Isfendīār (Av. Spentō-dāta, YZ. ShN. Isfendīār).[6] In the Yāṯkār, mention is likewise made of another of Vishtāspa's brothers, named Pāṯ-khusrav,[7] and also of a favorite son of Vishtāsp whose name apparently is Frashōkarṯ or Frashāvarṯ.[8] The Shāh Nāmah furthermore mentions Ardashīr, who is a son of Vishtāspa, Shērō or (according to Mohl)

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv, 313, 319. In YZ. § 50, Arjāsp, like Vishtāsp, has his place of observation upon a hill to direct the battle.

[2] The name of Arjāsp's brother, *Kuhram* or *Guhram*, appears as *Gōhormuz* in Ṭaharī; see Nöldeke, *Persische Studien*, ii. 7, 8; Justi *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 112. If Kuhram accepted Shēdāsp's challenge (ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 321, 322), he must have come forward from the rear.

[3] YZ. §§ 29–30, and § 54 seq.; ShN. Mohl, iv. 319, 323, 327.

[4] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 382.

[5] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 65.

[6] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 308.

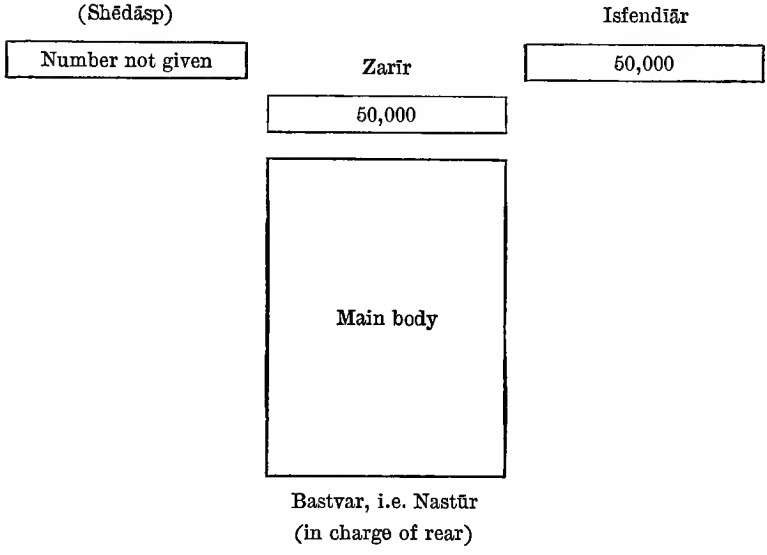
[7] YZ. §§ 29, 37; he is apparently not named in the Avesta; cf. Geiger, *Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān*, p. 77. For his name, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 532, suggested Av. Bujasravah, Yt. **13.** 101, but this is doubtful.

[8] YZ. § 30 (text corrupt), 39, 44. As the MS. at § 30 is corrupt (cf. Geiger, p. 75), one might think of Av. Frashōkara (Yt. **13.** 102), which is the reading of all good Avestan MSS. (*not Frashō-kərəta*, as Geiger, YZ. p. 75); but West (personal communication) thinks they are all the same name. As Frash . . . falls in this battle, we must not (as does Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 533) confuse him with Farshīdvard, of the Shāh Nāmah, who does not fall now, but is slain in the second battle. Possibly it might be Av. Frash-hāmvareta (Yt. **13.** 102) if we set aside Darmesteter's connection with Pers. Farshīdvard. In any case Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 104 should be consulted.

Ormazd,[1] Shēdāsp,[2] Garāmī, the son of Jāmāsp,[3] Nēvzār, son of Vishtāsp,[4] Bashūtan (i.e. Peshōtanu), son of Vishtāsp,[5] and a son of Isfendīār called Nūsh-Ādar (i.e. Anōsh-Ādar) who is killed by Zavārah in the second war.[6] The valiant Isfendīār appears in all accounts of both wars. He is evidently com-

ARRANGEMENTS OF VISHTĀSP'S TROOPS FOR BATTLE

(According to the Shah Nāmah)[7]



paratively young in the first war, and his renown as hero belongs rather to the second great action; but in both cam-

[1] Cf. Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 297, Mohl, iv. 321.

[2] Son of Vishtāsp, Mohl, iv. 311, 318, 321; Justi, p. 294.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 311, 312, 323, and see next page.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 312, 324.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 332, Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 251. Mentioned also by Ṭabarī in this connection (Tab. i. 676 f.; cf. Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. p. 7).

[6] ShN. Mohl, iv. pp. 338, 349; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 17*b*, 337 (*Uzwārak*).

[7] See preceding note; and, on the proper names, see Justi, *Iran Namenbuch*, as follows: *Zairivairi*, p. 382; *Isfendīār*, p. 308; *Shēdāsp*, p. 294; *Bastavairi*, p. 65.

paigns he is the same ideal hero, *sans peur et sans reproche*. Twenty-two other sons of the family of Vishtāspa are slain according to the Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān (§ 29), but this treatise does not seem to take account of the second holy war against Arjāsp. The Shāh Nāmah makes the number of Vishtāsp's sons that were slain to have been thirty-eight,[1] but this number on the other hand seems to comprise both wars. On the field of battle Vishtāsp's troops, according to the Shāh Nāmah, were drawn up as presented in the preceding table.[2] We must regret once more that we have not the missing Vishtāsp-sāstō Nask which the Dīnkarṭ says described 'the arrangement and movements of King Vishtāsp for that war.'

Battles of the First War. — The location of the seat of war in the first great conflict is not wholly clear. The Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus — see Map; the Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān seems to allude to Merv (also in the northeast) as the seat, but the text is not precise on the subject. The whole question is discussed below in Appendix IV., reference to which should be made.

It is evident, in this first war, that there were two principal battles, separated by a slight interval; some of the apparent differences and discrepancies between the Yāṭkār and the Shāh Nāmah are possibly to be accounted for in that way. As to the interval, the Shāh Nāmah recognizes a lapse of two weeks (*dū haftah*) between the first attack by Arjāsp and the combat which resulted in Zarīr's death.[3] As to the action, the Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān naturally selects those situations and incidents which bring its hero Zarīr into the foreground. Both accounts tell how, on the eve of battle, the sage Jāmāsp in prophetic vision foresees all the gains and all the losses on each side; and he foretells to the king the joys and sorrows, the temporary defeat, but final, conclusive, and decisive victory of the following day.[4]

[1] Mohl, iv. 367, 376, 386, 445.

[2] See p. 113, and cf. Mohl, iv. 318.

[3] ShN. iii. 1527, *dū haftah*; cf. Mohl, iv. 325.

[4] YZ. §§ 28–30; ShN. iii. 1514–1521; cf. Mohl, iv. 309–317.

Vishtāsp beholds the fight from a neighboring elevation.[1] In the first action a number fall on the side of the Zoroastrian faith. Several of the names may be gathered; they are mostly sons of the king: Ardashīr, Ormazd (or Shērō), Shēdāsp, Nēvzār, Pāṯ-khusrav, and Frashāvarṯ(?).[2] Most of these are slain by the listful demon Nāmkhvāst. Of all the descriptions, one of the most picturesque, perhaps, is the account of the chivalrous deed of Jāmāsp's indomitable son Garāmī (YZ. Garāmīk-karṯ). In a moment of critical suspense he rescues the imperial banner by an act of heroism which is all-inspiring, and he saves the gonfalon, holding it between his teeth, and fights till he falls.[3]

The second and decisive battle follows this first sharp engagement after a brief interval. In this action there is no question that the hero is Zarīr (Zarēr, Zairivairi). He does not fall in open attack, but by an act of stealth at the hand of the sorcerer Bīdrafsh, whom he had challenged to mortal combat. Zarīr's unfortunate death is gloriously avenged by his young son Bastvar (Nastūr) and by the valiant Isfendīār. In the words of the Yāṯkār-ī Zarīrān, as the battle opens, 'the dashing leader Zarīr began the fight as fiercely as when the god of Fire bursts into a hay-rick and is impelled onward by a blast of the storm. Each time as he struck his sword down, he killed ten Khyōns; and, as he drew it back, he slew eleven. When hungry and thirsty he needed only to look upon the blood of the Khyōns and he became refreshed.'[4] But treachery, as before stated, undoes the noble knight; he falls, pierced through the heart by a poisoned spear hurled from behind by the magician Vīdrafsh (Vēdrafsh, Bīdrafsh) who is promised the fair hand of Arjāsp's daughter Zarshtan as a reward.[5] The hero fallen, Vishtāsp now turns and offers his own lovely daughter Humāk (Hūmāī)

[1] YZ. § 49; ShN. Mohl, iv. 320.

[2] List made up from ShN. iii. 1523 seq.; cf. Mohl, iv. 311, 321; and YZ. §§ 29–30. Compare also Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 229 (*Nēwzār*), and the references given above, p. 113.

[3] YZ. § 79; ShN. iv. 323, 311–12; see also Geiger, *Yātkār*, p. 79.

[4] YZ. § 51 (Geiger, pp. 59–60).

[5] YZ. §§ 52–56 (after Geiger, pp. 60–61); cf. ShN. Mohl, iv. 327, 328. See also Nöldeke, *Pers. Stud.* ii. 3.

to whosoever will avenge Zarīr's death.[1] The latter's youthful son Bastvar (Nastūr), a child in years but a giant in strength and courage, dashes forward and, accompanied by Isfendīār, slays the treacherous Vīdrafsh, routs the Turanian hosts, hews them down as he drives them before him, and with Isfendīār's aid sends Arjāsp defeated, humbled, mutilated, back to his own capital.[2]

The gallant Isfendīār now grants respite to the vanquished Turanians, which is in keeping with the nobility of his character, although his soldiers, as the poet describes, were inclined to butcher the entire army of refugees.[3] The Shāh Nāmah is able to give the numbers of those who fell in battle. Of Vishtāsp's forces the number of the slain is estimated at 30,000 including thirty-eight sons of the king.[4] On Arjāsp's side the list of those who were killed is reckoned to be more than 100,000. With the boldness of precision worthy of an epic writer who is giving details, the poet is able to add that 1163 of this number were men of rank, beside 3200 wounded.[5] Terms of peace with religious stipulations are entered into and the first great victory of Zoroastrianism is achieved.

The war over, Vishtāsp marches back through his own country of Iran to the city of Balkh, to celebrate the victory. In Persian fashion he is said to have given his daughter Humāī to the intrepid Isfendīār,[6] and he assigns to this young hero Bastvar (Nastūr) an army of 100,000 picked soldiers, bidding him to advance toward Arjāsp's capital, Khallakh, in order to complete the conquest. One other son, Farshīdvard,[7] is made suzerain over Khorassān, the territory which afterwards becomes famous as a seat of the second holy war against Arjāsp. Vishtāsp himself next founds a new fire-temple and makes Jāmāsp

[1] YZ. § 57; ShN. Mohl, iv. 330, 341.

[2] YZ. §§ 58–85 (Geiger, pp. 62–69); ShN. Mohl, 335–341.

[3] ShN. Mohl, iv. 339.

[4] But see the statement given above (p. 114) which explains this number as referring to both the wars.

[5] ShN. Mohl, iv. 341.

[6] YZ. § 57 seq. implies Bastvar; see above, p. 72, n. 1.

[7] ShN. Mohl, iv. 345.

high priest over it. His final and most important act for the Religion is to depute the dauntless Isfendīār upon a hallowed mission, a great crusade to foreign lands, enjoining upon him to convert all peoples and nations to the Faith of Zardusht. When this is accomplished he promises to recompense the valiant crusader and dutiful son by awarding him the crown and throne of Iran.

Isfendīār as Crusader, and the Following Events. — Tradition tells how fortune favors the gallant knight. So successful is his pious zeal, according to the Shāh Nāmah, that the countries even of 'Rūm and Hindūstān' are among those who despatched messengers to Vishtāsp, requesting to have 'the Zend-Avesta of Zardusht' sent to them. Vishtāsp eagerly complies with the request and sends a copy of the bible to every land.[1] An allusion to the Dīnkarṭ of crusading efforts in the direction of 'Arūm and the Hindūs' in connection with the name of Spenddāṭ (Isfendīār) has already been noticed above.

There must have been a considerable lapse of time for all this to transpire, and a number of the events narrated in the chapters on conversions and the spread of the Religion perhaps belong here.[2] The interval of peace at home was doubtless used to advantage; and possibly about this time the Avesta was written down by Jāmāsp from the teachings of Zoroaster as referred to in the Dīnkarṭ.[3] All goes well. Each effort of Isfendīār is divinely crowned, and at last he feels himself entitled by his successes to turn to his father with the expectation of receiving the crown according to the royal promise. But he receives it not. A mischievous brother, Kurazm (Av. Kavārazem, Yt. **13.** 103)[4] with lying lips calumniates the valiant hero to his father. Isfendīār is rewarded by being

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 344–345.

[2] The Shāh Nāmah implies an interval of 'some time'; see ShN. iii. 1543, Vullers-Landauer = Mohl, iv. 345, 'quelque temps.'

[3] Dk. **4.** 21; **5.** 3. 4; **7.** 5. 11; **3.** 7. **1.** Cf. pp. 76, 97. West places this event about B.C. 591. See *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

[4] ShN. Mohl, iv. 346; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 159; Darmesteter, *Études Iran.* ii. 230.

thrown into chains and imprisoned upon a mountain in the fortress citadel of Gumbadān in Khorassān or Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta and Būndahishn as described below in Appendix IV. The Shāh Nāmah goes on to tell how King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) leaves Balkh shortly after this incident and goes for 'two years' to Seistān and Zabūlistān to visit Rustam.

It is at this point in the Shāh Nāmah that the narrative of Firdausī's predecessor Daḳīḳī is stated to end, and the story is taken up by Firdausī himself. This fact may account for certain differences of view and manner of treatment which are noticeable.[1]

Arjāsp's Second Invasion; the Last Holy War. — The chronicle of the Shāh Nāmah, as poetic history, seems to allow some years to elapse between the invasions of Arjāsp as already mentioned, and the traditional Zoroastrian chronology bears out this fact if we combine the dates which may be gathered.[2] The state of affairs in Iran begins to assume a different aspect. The Turanian Arjāsp, taking advantage of Isfendīār's imprisoment, reunites his forces and prepares to strike a blow of retaliation upon his former conqueror. Once more he invades Iran and the second war begins. The tradition which Firdausī follows is claimed by him to be ancient. It is curious, however, in some of its details, and it presents an odd picture of the management of a kingdom. Vishtāsp's absence from his capital seems to have left Balkh weakened or unprotected. Arjāsp successfully storms the city; the aged Lohrāsp falls in the fight before the city walls;[3] the temple of Nūsh-Ādar is sacked and destroyed; the priests are slain in the very act of their pious worship; the sacred fire is quenched by their

[1] On the Daḳīḳī portion of the Shāh Nāmah, cf. p. 5, n. 2, and see Nöldeke in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 148–150.

[2] The date of Zoroaster's death is set at B.C. 583, and this is supposed to have occurred during the Turanian invasion, as discussed in the next chapter.

[3] Shāh Nāmah, Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560; Mohl, iv. 364, 558.

hallowed blood; and, worst of all, the Prophet Zardusht falls a martyr at the hands of the murderous and fanatical invaders of Turan, as he stands in the presence of the altar's holy flame which the Faith so devoutly cherished. The details of these particular circumstances are given more fully in the next chapter, together with some additional traditions regarding Zoroaster's death. This sad event serves to place the date of the second war at about B.C. 583 on the basis of the Būndahishn chronology.[1]

Events now follow in rapid succession. Vishtāsp learns in Seistān of the death of Lohrāsp and of the martyrdom of Zoroaster. He hastens to join forces with his son, Farshīdvard of Khorassān. The Shāh Nāmah states that Vishtāsp took the route towards Balkh, but from its description and from a Pahlavi allusion to the 'White Forest,' as discussed hereafter, it appears that Vishtāsp joined Farshīdvard in Khorassān, of which the latter was suzerain. We may recall here that Firdausī himself was a native of Khorassān and he must have been familiar with the tradition. The question of the scene of this opening battle is entered into more fully below in Appendix IV. So it need not be discussed here. We need only follow Firdausī's brief description of the drawing up of the opposing lines, and if we glance at Khorassān on the Map we shall have an idea, at least traditionally, of the battlefields on which the final victory of Zoroastrianism was won.

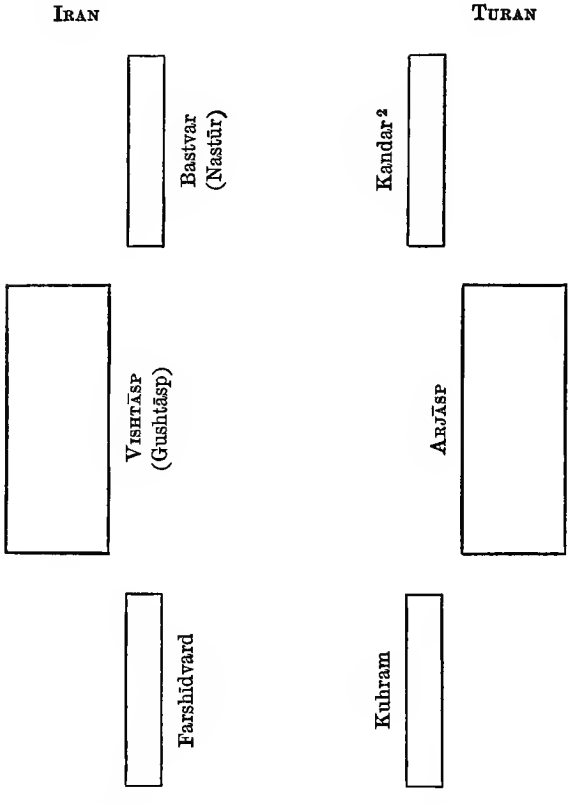
Alas! the valiant Isfendīār is no longer in command of the host that is fighting for the Avesta and the Faith of Iran. The princely Farshīdvard receives a wound that shortly proves fatal. Vishtāsp is routed, and he finds refuge only in the region of Nīshāpūr or of the Jagatai chain, as discussed in detail below, Appendix IV. The Iranians are beleagured on a lonely height; the Faith of Zoroaster seems about to totter and fall before the hated Arjāsp and Turan. But Isfendīār is

[1] See note above, and compare West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and Appendix III. below.

once more the saviour of the hour. In the dire emergency it is universally felt that the captive prince, chained within the fortress which even in the Avesta has given his name to the

OPENING BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]



mountain, can save the State from its impending overthrow. According to the Chronicle, Jāmāsp secretly visits Isfendīār,

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 365, 366, 387. On the special proper names, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch* under *Fraŝhąm-varəta*, p. 104 (but recall discussion of the name above, p. 112, n. 8); *Bastvar*, Justi, p. 65.

[2] ShN. Mohl, iv. 366, 387.

and finally induces him to forget his cruel wrongs and to preserve his country from the certain ruin that hangs over it. Freed from the galling shackles, he hastens to the rescue and leads the hosts of Zoroastrianism once more to victory. Under the inspiration of his command a final battle is begun. Isfendīār receives full power and sway. The only change in the organization of Vishtāsp's forces, as noted in the Shāh Nāmah, is that Gurdōē (Kerdūī) succeeds to the place of Farshīdvard, who had died from the fatal wound received in the preceding fight, and Bastvar (Nastūr) consequently occupies the right wing.[1] Arjāsp's troops are marshalled in a manner differing but slightly from that before adopted. The disposition of the armies, as given by Firdausī, is shown in the diagram on page 122.

Isfendīār wins a complete and signal victory. Arjāsp flees back to Turan. But no quarter this time is granted. His country is mercilessly invaded by the invincible Isfendīār, his capital stormed and taken, and he himself is finally slain. The Dīnkarṭ likewise in one passage seems to contain an echo of the note of exultation over this event.[2] Victory rests everywhere upon the banners of Iran and upon the triumphant standards of Zoroaster's Faith.

Thus closed the second invasion of the great Holy War, which really served to establish the future of Zoroastrianism, for the Faith gained strength from the shock it withstood and the power it overcame. According to tradition, victory led to other attempts at universal conversion, but not all were unqualifiedly successful. The gallant Isfendīār, so zealous ever for the cause, is himself ultimately slain in single combat with Rustam, whom he sought to convert to the creed in accordance with King Vishtāsp's urgent desire and his own unflagging readiness for crusading. The story which Firdausī tells of

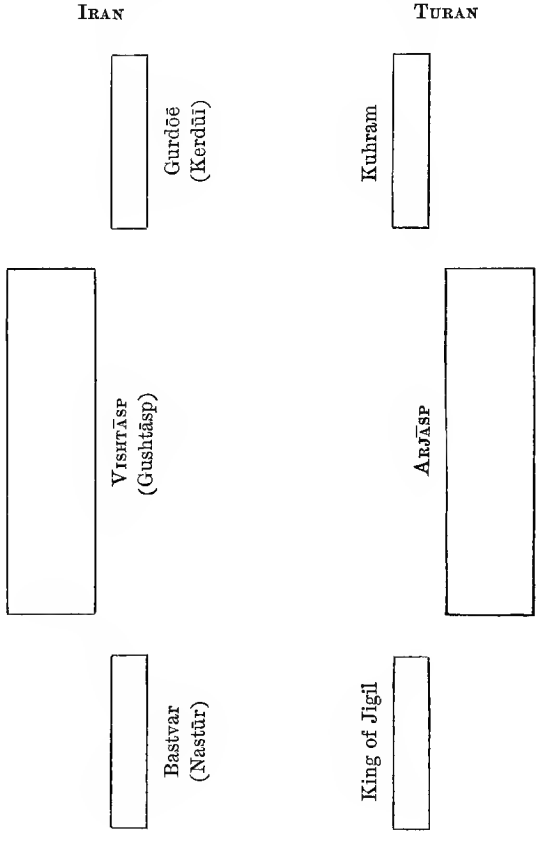
[1] On Gurdōē (Kerdūī), see ShN. Mohl, iv. 384; Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, pp. 122, 161.

[2] See Dk. 7. 4. 88–90, in West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 72–73.

the details of Isfendīār's death may be apocryphal, but it contains some reminiscence of the missionary labors that are known to have been expended in the land of Seistān.

FINAL BATTLE OF THE SECOND HOLY WAR

(According to the Shāh Nāmah)[1]



The Sacred Wars summarized. — Such is the story of the period of holy warfare against Areiaṯ-aspa (Arjāsp) in behalf

[1] ShN. Mohl, iv. 384. For the proper names, see references above.

of Zoroaster's Faith, at least so far as we can gather history from sources which are chiefly chronicles. In the Avesta and in the Pahlavi writings Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. H'yaona, Phl. Khyōn); in the Shāh Nāmah and elsewhere he is understood to be a Turanian. Both designations apparently amount ultimately to the same thing. Furthermore, according to tradition, there were two separate wars or invasions by Arjāsp, although the earliest accounts do not make this point wholly clear. If we accept the Zoroastrian chronology based upon the Pahlavi Būndahishn, the defeat of Arjāsp in the first war must have occurred about B.C. 601. The principal battle of this war was the fight in which King Vishtāsp's brother Zarīr was slain. A considerable interval, nearly twenty years, is believed to have elapsed before Arjāsp began his second invasion. The date of this event is placed by the tradition as about B.C. 583, the year being given by the death of Zoroaster which seems to have occurred at this time. The amphitheatre in which the final engagements in this war took place appears to be Khorassān. Isfendīār, the great crusader, wins the final victory that establishes the Faith of Iran on a firm foundation, even though Zoroaster is no longer living to enjoy the fruits of triumph.

CHAPTER X

THE DEATH OF ZOROASTER

THE END OF A GREAT PROPHETIC CAREER

'Shall the priest and the prophet be slain in the sanctuary of the Lord?'
— LAMENTATIONS 2. 20.

INTRODUCTION — GREEK AND LATIN ACCOUNTS OF ZOROASTER'S DEATH BY LIGHTNING OR A FLAME FROM HEAVEN — THE IRANIAN TRADITION OF HIS DEATH AT THE HAND OF AN ENEMY — CONCLUSION

Introduction. — Those who have read Marion Crawford's novel 'Zoroaster' may perhaps recall the graphic scene describing the death of the Prophet of ancient Iran, with which the romance closes. Whatever may have been the novelist's source of information — if he had any source beyond his own vivid imagination — his picture is so well drawn that it seems real, and it may possibly not be so far, after all, from the truth. There is no authority, however, for believing that Zoroaster's death took place at Stakhar (Persepolis); but there is ground for believing that he may possibly have been slain while at worship in the sanctuary. Traditions on the subject differ; but it is the purpose of this chapter briefly to bring together the material that is accessible on the question of Zoroaster's death.

Greek and Latin Accounts of Zoroaster's Death. — From the fate of Empedocles we are not surprised to find a miraculous departure attributed to a great sage; and the Greek and Latin patristic writers give a fabulous account of the passing of Zoroaster. His is no ordinary end; he perishes by lightning or a flame from heaven, which recalls the descent of the fiery chariot and the whirlwind in the apotheosis of Elijah. For

such a description our principal source is the Pseudo-Clementine *Recognitiones* and the spurious Clementine *Homilies*, whose statements are followed by later writers. All these passages are given in Appendix V., so they are simply summarized here.[1]

(a) A passage in the *Clementinae Recognitiones* (dating about A.D. second century, and existing in the Latin translation of Rufinus),[2] identifies Zoroaster with Ham or Mesraim of the family of Noah, and anathematizes him as a magician and astrologer. To deceive the people, it is said, he was wont to conjure the stars until finally the guardian spirit or presiding genius of a certain star became angry at his control and emitted a stream of fire in vengeance and slew the arch-magician. But the misguided Persians deified the ashes of his body consumed by the flame, and they gave adoration to the star which had thus charioted him into the presence of God. Hence after his death he received the name Zoroaster, that is, 'living star,'—an interpretation by those who understood the Greek form of his name to have this meaning![3]

(b) The statement in the spurious Clementine *Homilies*[4] differs but slightly. Zoroaster is identified with Nimrod, who, in the pride of his heart, seeks for universal power from the star, whereat the lightning falls from heaven and Nimrod is destroyed, and he accordingly receives the surname Zoroaster for the 'stream of the star': Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνελθῆναι ῥοήν. But the Persians, it is added, built a temple over the remains of his body and cherished the sacred flame that came from the

[1] The best material on this subject, from the classical side, is to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 306–309 (accessible now in translation, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 131–135).

[2] Clem. Roman. *Recogn.* 4. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 seq. ed. Migne). See Appendix V., § 12.

[3] For the text, cf. Appendix V., § 12.

[4] Clem. *Homilies*, 9. 4 seq. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne); see Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 306–307 = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 133, and Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. p. 34.

coals of the heaven-sent bolt; and so long as they did this they had sovereignty. Then the Babylonians stole away the embers and thereby gained empire over the world.[1]

(c) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593)[2] repeats the identification of Zoroaster with Ham (Cham, or Chus) and records the etymology of his name as 'living star,' stating that the Persians worshipped him as a god because he was consumed by fire from heaven. See Appendix V., § 37.

(d) The *Chronicon Paschale* or *Chronicon Alexandrinum* (last date A.D. 629)[3] makes Zoroaster foretell his fiery death, and bid the Persians to preserve the ashes of his charred bones. As he is praying to Orion, he is slain by the descent of a heavenly shaft, and the Persians carefully keep his ashes down to the present time. See text in Appendix V., § 39.

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition (see Appendix V., § 39) in the works of

(e) Johan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) col. 84, ed. Migne; p. 18 ed. Bonnenn.

(f) Suidas (A.D. tenth century), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, Ἀστρονόμος, briefly records the death by fire from heaven.

(g) Georgius Cedrenus (c. A.D. 1100), tells the same in his *Historiarum Compendium* (col. 57, ed. Migne; p. 29 seq. ed. Bonnenn.), and adds, *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τοῦτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

(h) Michael Glycas (flor. c. A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars II.* (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244 ed. Bonnenn.), simply repeats the Clementine statement. See Appendix V., § 47.

(i) Georgius Hamartolus (d. about A.D. 1468) merely reiterates the same in his *Chronology* (col. 56, ed. Migne).

All these latter quotations go back to the Clementine source.

[1] For the full text, see Appendix V., § 12.

[2] *Hist. Francor.* 1. 5 (col. 164 seq. ed. Migne).

[3] *Chron. Pasch.* col. 148 seq. ed. Migne; or i. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.; cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 308 note = Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, p. 135.

They all look upon Zoroaster as an astrologer who perished by a shaft from heaven, and they usually interpret this as a mark of divine displeasure.

It might be added, simply by way of greater completeness, that Orosius (A.D. fifth century) *Hist.* i. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne) follows the current later classical story about Ninus and Zoroaster, and adds that Ninus conquered and killed him in battle, which perhaps is an echo of the war against Arjāsp.[1]

The Iranian Tradition of Zoroaster's Death. — Passing from the realm of fanciful legend to the more solid ground of tradition we have a very persistent statement in the later Zoroastrian sacred writings regarding the death of the Prophet, even if, for reasons to be easily understood, that event is not mentioned in the Avesta itself.[2] This tradition with absolute uniformity makes his death to have occurred at the age of seventy-seven years, and ascribes it to a Turanian, one Brāṯrōkrēsh.[3] Whether this occurred at the storming of Balkh or under other circumstances, will be discussed below. For the latest accessible material on the subject we may refer especially to West, *SBE.* xlvii. According to the Pahlavi selections of Zāṯ-sparam, Zoroaster passed away at the age of seventy-seven years and forty days in the 47th–48th year of the religion, or B.C. 583, of the Iranian chronology.[4] The month and the day are specifically named, as will be recorded below. The statement of his age being seventy-seven years is repeated elsewhere,[5] and the name of his murderer occurs a number of times as the following passages will show.

(a) The Selections of Zāṯ-sparam, **23.** 9 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 165) contain the following entry: 'In the forty-seventh year

[1] For the text, see Appendix V., § 27.

[2] See also Geldner, 'Zoroaster' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, xxiv. 821, col. *a*.

[3] Cf. also Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 71.

[4] See West's calculations given in Appendix III., p. 181, and consult the next paragraph.

[5] E.g. Masūdī, as given in Appendix II., p. 163.

(of the Religion) Zaratūsht passes away, who attains seventy-seven years and forty days, in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the day Khūr; and for eight rectified months, till the month Dadvō and day Khūr, he should be brought forward as to be reverenced.' The day of his death, according to tradition, is the day Khūr in the month Arṯavahishtō, on the eleventh day of the second month of the Zoroastrian year,[1]

(b) In Dīnkarṯ, 7. 5. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 73) we read, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp onwards till the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence, when seventy-seven years had elapsed onwards from his birth, forty-seven onwards from his conference, and thirty-five years onwards from the acceptance of the Religion by Vishtāsp.'

(c) Dīnkarṯ, 7. 6. 1 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 77) speaks, among other miracles, 'About the marvellousness which is manifested after the departure (*vīxēžŏ*) of Zaratūsht, whose guardian spirit is reverenced, to the best existence (i.e. Heaven), and manifested also in the lifetime of Vishtāsp.'

(d) Dāṯistān-ī Dīnīk, 72. 8 (West, *SBE.* xviii. 218) states that among the most heinous sinners, 'one was Tūr-ī Brāṯarvakhsh, the Karap and heterodox wizard, by whom the best of men [i.e. Zaratūsht] was put to death.' If this be the same Karap that plotted against Zoroaster as a youth, it would imply an extraordinary longevity (p. 28, n. 4).

(e) Dīnkarṯ 5. 3. 2 (West, *SBE.* xlvii. 126) mentions among the events in the history of the Religion, 'the killing of Zaratūsht himself by Brāṯrō-rēsh.' See also the note by Darab D. P. Sanjana in Geiger's *Eastern Iranians*, ii. p. 216. Compare likewise Dīnkarṯ translated by Peshotan Dastur Behramjee

[1] Or May 1, B.C. 583, if I reckon correctly. On the Zoroastrian months, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 33–36, and Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *History of the Parsis*, i. 149, 150; ii. 154. On the year, see West's calculations in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, given below in Appendix III.

Sanjana, vol. vii. p. 485: 'Among wicked priests the most wicked was Tur-e-Baratrut (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh) of evil nature and desirous of destroying Zarthusht's faith.'

(f) The Great Iranian Būndahishn in a passage cited and translated by Darmesteter (*Le ZA.* ii. 19, cf. also iii. Introd. lxxix.) describes the demon and wizard Malkōs, who shall appear at the end of a thousand years to bring distress upon the earth, as a manifestation of ruin springing 'from the race of Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēsh who brought about Zaratūsht's death.'[1]

(g) The Persian prose treatise Sad-dar, **9**. 5 (West, *SBE.* xxiv. 267) includes among the list of sinners who are on a par with Ahriman, the same 'Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh who slew Zaratūsht.' The metrical Sad-dar repeats it also (Hyde, *Historia Religionis*, p. 441).

(h) The Pahlavi Bahman Yasht, **2**. 3 (West, *SBE.* v. 195) alludes to the same tradition, for when Zaratūsht in a vision asks immortality of God, Aūharmazd declines it, responding thus: 'When (i.e. if) I shall make thee immortal, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! then Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap will become immortal, and when Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh the Karap shall become immortal, the resurrection and future existence are not possible.'

The Pahlavi-Parsi tradition is therefore unanimous that Zoroaster perished by the hand of Tūr-ī Brāṯar-vakhsh or Brātrōk-rēsh, but it gives no specific details. Firdausī must be following an Iranian tradition in keeping with this when he assigns this event to the time of the Turanian invasion of Iran, and ascribes Zoroaster's death to the storming of Balkh and the destruction of the temple Nūsh-Ādar. Other Persian writers seem to accept the same tradition. The extracts are given.

(i) Shāh Nāmah, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559 graphically describes the final scene. I give a version of it, following Mohl iv. 363 and Vullers, *Fragmente*, 103: 'The army (of Turan) there-

[1] *Malkōs sēj-cīharī min tōxmak-ī Tūr-ī Brāṯrōk-rēš, ī ōš-ī Zaratūšt yahvūnt*; see Darmesteter.

upon entered Balkh, and the world became darkened with rapine and murder. They advanced toward the Temple of Fire (*ātaškadah*) and to the palace and glorious hall of gold. They burned the Zend-Avesta entire and they set fire to the edifice and palace alike. There (in the sanctuary) were eighty priests whose tongues ceased not to repeat the name of God; all these they slew in the very presence of the Fire and put an end to their life of devotion. By the blood of these was extinguished the Fire of Zardusht. Who slew this priest I do not know.'[1] The story is told over again, a few lines farther on, where the messenger bears to the absent Vishtāsp the awful news of the sacking of the city, the death of Lohrāsp, 'the king of kings,' and the slaying of the Sage or Master (*rad*), by which none other than Zardusht is meant. The lines run (cf. Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1560, and Mohl, trad. iv. 364): 'They have slain Lohrāsp, the king of kings, before the city of Balkh; and our days are darkened and full of trouble. For (the Turks) have entered the temple Nūsh-Ādar and they have crushed the head of the Master (Zardusht) and of all the priests; and the brilliant Fire has been extinguished by their blood.'

(j) The prose chronicle Shāh Nāmah Nasr, which Hyde terms an abstract of Firdausī made by some Magian,[2] states similarly with reference to this event: 'They say that when Arjāsp's army invaded Iran, Lohrāsp left the place of divine worship as soon as he learned of this, and took to the field of battle. He killed a great many, but he himself was slain, together with eighty priests (who were in the temple at Balkh Bāmī). The fire was quenched by their blood; and among the number of the eighty priests was Zardusht the prophet, who also perished in this war.'[3]

(k) The later Persian work Dabistān (beginning of 17th

[1] See variant in Vullers-Landauer, iii. 1559, and the translation by Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 103, and by Mohl, iv. 363.

[2] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319–325 (1 ed.).

[3] After the Latin translation of Hyde, op. cit. p. 325.

century A.D.), claims that its statement is based upon ancient Iranian authority and gives a picturesque description of the manner in which the martyred Zoroaster avenged himself upon his slayer Turbaraturhash (i.e. Tūr-ī Brāṭar-vakhsh) by hurling his rosary at his murderer and destroying him. Or as the passage reads: 'It is recorded in the books composed by Zardusht's followers, and also in the ancient histories of Iran, that at the period of Arjāsp's second[1] invasion, King Gushtāsp was partaking of the hospitality of Zāl, in Seistān, and Isfendīār was a prisoner in Dazh Gumbadān; and that Lohrāsp, notwithstanding the religious austerities he performed through divine favor, laid aside the robes of mortality in battle, after which the Turks took the city. A Turk named Turbaratur, or Turbaraturhash,[2] having entered Zardusht's oratory, the prophet received martyrdom by his sword. Zardusht, however, having thrown at him the rosary (*Shumar Afin* or *Yād Afrāz*) which he held in his hand, there proceeded from it such an effulgent splendor that its fire fell on Turbaratur and consumed him.'[3]

(l) Two other late Persian passages imply that Zoroaster's end was violent. Both of these are noticed by Hyde, from whom they are adopted here.[4] The first is from the Persian historian Majdī (A.D. sixteenth century), who, after mentioning the dreadful invasion of Arjāsp and the death of the priests in the temple of Balkh, goes on to say: 'He quenched the fire of Zardusht with the blood of the Magi; and some one from Shīrāz then slew Zardusht himself.'[5]

(m) The second of these two passages is an allusion found in the Farhang-i Jahāngīrī, which apparently refers to the day of Zoroaster's death as well as to the day on which he first undertook his mission to Vishtāsp, for the dates resemble those

[1] Notice the word 'second' in connection with the preceding chapter.

[2] I.e. Tūr-ī Brāṭar-vakhsh.

[3] Dabistān tr. Shea and Troyer, i. 371–372.

[4] Hyde, *Historia Religionis Vet. Pers.* pp. 319, 325. On Majdī, cf. Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 332.

[5] Hyde, op. cit. p. 319; de Harlez, *Avesta tr.* p. xxv. note 7.

in Pahlavi sources as already described. The sentence reads: 'On the thirtieth day, Anīrān, he entered Irān (or Persia), and on the fifteenth day, Deybamihr, he departed in sorrow from Iran.' Hyde, p. 325, seems rightly to have interpreted the allusion thus, and he should be consulted in connection with pp. 40, 128, above.

Conclusion. — The accounts of Zoroaster's death by lightning or a flame from heaven, as found in Greek and Latin patristic literature, seem to be legendary. According to Iranian tradition his death was violent, and it occurred at the hand of a Turanian whose name is preserved to ill-renown. Whether his martyrdom took place in the temple when Balkh was stormed, as later Iranian writers all state, cannot positively be asserted, although such may have been the case.

CHAPTER XI

THE SEQUENCE OF EVENTS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH

THE LATER FORTUNE OF THE FAITH

'Still did the mighty flame burn on,
Through chance and change, through good and ill,
Like its own God's eternal will
Deep, constant, bright, unquenchable!'

— MOORE'S *Lalla Rookh.*

INTRODUCTORY STATEMENTS; THE COURSE OF EVENTS — THE FIRST TEN YEARS AFTER ZOROASTER'S DEATH — EVIDENCE OF FURTHER SPREAD OF THE RELIGION — DEATH OF THE FIRST APOSTLES — LATER DISCIPLES AND SUCCESSORS — PROPHECIES AND FUTURE EVENTS — SUMMARY

Introductory Statements; the Course of Events. — With the great Prophet dead, with the holy flame of the sacred shrine quenched in the blood of the martyred priests, we might have supposed for a moment that the Religion must perish too. Happily, as we have seen, this was destined not to be the case. Fate, circumstances, and merit issued other decrees. We have watched the spark of the altar flame kindling anew; the story of the glorious victories won in hallowed battles for Ormazd has been told; the banner of the Creed waves once more aloft. Little more remains to be chronicled beyond briefly tracing the course which events took in the years that followed Zoroaster's death. In other words, we are presently to enter the realm where actual history goes hand in hand with tradition.

Tradition according to the Bahman Yasht asserts that 'Arṯashīr the Kayān, whom they call Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ,' and whom we know as Ardashīr Dirāzdast, or the 'long-handed,' is the one who 'made the Religion current in the

whole world.'[1] Actual history agrees with this in so far as it shows that Artaxerxes Longimanus, or the 'long-handed,' was an ardent Zoroastrian ruler.[2] From the pages of history, furthermore, we learn that by the time of the last Achaemenians, at least, Zoroastrianism is practically acknowledged to have become the national religion of Iran. History, alas, has also to chronicle in its memorial chapters the cruel blow which Alexander dealt to the whole Persian empire upon his triumphal march of world-conquest. Tradition again is in harmony in recording how the 'evil-destined' or 'accursed Iskander' brought ruin everywhere by his sword, and how he burned the sacred books of the Avesta, the archetype of the bible of Zoroaster, with the treasury of the ancient Persian kings. This last tragic event stands out as the darkest day in the history of Zoroastrianism until its final overthrow by Islam, when the Koran superseded the Avesta and Ormazd gave place to Allah.

But the two centuries or more between the death of Zoroaster and the coming of Alexander are filled by various religious events which the patristic literature of Sassanian times carefully records and which it is proper here to notice in connection with the history of Zoroaster's life. It certainly seems curious that we have no mention of Cyrus nor of the pious Mazda-worshipper Darius, unless we are to understand that the events of their reigns are merged in a general way into the achievements of Isfendīār. This is one of the problems which belong rather to the history of the Religion to discuss. For the years themselves that follow Zoroaster's death, the Pahlavi texts give enough general events or incidents to mark off the periods or epochs in a loose sort of way. The first few years at least are certainly worth recording on the lines of the tradition, and a glance should be taken at the

[1] Byt. 2. 17, West, *SBE.* v. 198–199.

[2] Yet see Justi's remark in *Iran. Namenbuch* p. 34, *Artaxšaθrā* 8.

chronological table in Appendix III., which gives some idea of the current of events.

The First Ten Years after Zoroaster's Death. — From tradition we know that King Vishtāspa outlived Zoroaster, and it is interesting to see from the assertions of tradition how the miraculous events which attended the Prophet's life do not cease with his death, but wonders and prodigies still continue to be witnessed during the reign of the patron king. The influence of the veil and glamour of the heavenly personage is not yet removed. The first decade after Zoroaster's death was certainly eventful for Vishtāsp, and we have a fanciful story told in Pahlavi of a wonder that came to pass and a sign that was manifested, which illustrates that the divine favor has descended upon the king and which symbolizes the progress of the Religion under the guise of a chariot in its onward course.

The Dīnkarṭ narrates how the soul of the old warrior Srītō, who had been dead several hundred years, appears again, visits the zealous monarch, and presents to him a wonderful chariot. The chariot instantly becomes twofold in form, the one being spiritual, the other material.[1] And, as the Dīnkarṭ passage continues, 'in the worldly chariot the exalted Kaī Vishtāsp travelled forth unto the village of the Nōṭars, in the joyfulness of good thoughts; and in the spiritual chariot the soul of Srītō of the Vīsraps travelled forth unto the best existence (i.e. returned again to heaven).'[2] This allegory of the chariot appears to smack somewhat of Buddhism and the Wheel of the Law; and we may also recall a classical tradition which implies Vishtāsp's acquaintance with the secret lore of the Brāhmans, and the legendary wisdom and prophetic vision which was ascribed to Vishtāspa down to mediæval times.[3]

Evidence of Further Spread of the Religion. — The Dīnkarṭ text declares that 'Vishtāsp the king, when he became relieved

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 1–11.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 11, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80. Shall we compare ἅρμα in Appendix V., § 7?

[3] See Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung*, in *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 217 seq.

from the war with Arjāsp, sent to the chief rulers about the acceptance of the religion, and the writings of the Mazda-worshipping religion, which are studded with all knowledge.' The text then goes on to affirm the rapid spread which the Faith saw by the end of the few years. The seed of the Religion was the blood of its martyrs slain. And so rapid does the progress seem to have been that the text claims as one of the marvels of history, the fact that at the end of fifty-seven years from the first revelation of the Religion, its advent is 'published in the seven regions' of the world, as was described in the lost Spend Nask of the Avesta.[1] All this is supposed to have occurred while Vishtāsp still lives. As a proof, moreover, of the general acceptance of the Creed, the same passage adduces the fact of 'the coming of some from other regions to Frashōshtar of the Hvōbas for enquiry about the religion.'[2] Two of the high priests who came on this holy quest from abroad are from the southeastern and the southwestern regions. Their names are given as Spiti and Erezrāspa — names which are found in the Avesta.[3] And, similarly, the Apostles went into many lands to preach the Gospel after the death of Christ.

Death of the First Apostles. — Frashaoshtra, Zoroaster's devoted friend, follower, and relative by marriage, lives for a number of years to exemplify the tenets and expound the doctrines of the Master who has 'passed away.' He himself is summoned, as the Zāṯ-sparam selections tell us,[4] some fifteen years after Zaratūsht, 'in the month Arṯavahishtō, in the sixty-third year of the Religion.'[5] His distinguished brother Jāmāsp, the wise Jāmāspa, grand vizir of the king, and successor of Zoroaster in the pontifical office of the realm, outlives Frashaoshtra but a year; or, as the selections of Zāṯ-sparam

[1] Dk. 7. 6. 12; cf. Dk. 8. 14. 10, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 80; xxxvii. 33.

[2] Dk. 7. 6. 12. Recall also what has already been said in Chap. VII. about the promulgation of the Religion.

[3] Yt. 13. 121; Dk. 7. 6. 12. See West's note on Dk. 9. 21. 24, and Dk. 4. 22, in *SBE.* xxxvii. 218, 413.

[4] Zsp. 23. 10.

[5] B.C. 568, according to traditional chronology; see West, *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 55, and below, Appendix III.

proceed to chronicle, 'in the sixty-fourth year of the Religion passed away Jāmāsp, the same as became the priest of priests after Zaratūsht.'[1] This sage was indeed a Mobed of Mobeds. Then in the seventy-third year he is followed by his son Hangāūrūsh, whose name appears also in the Avesta (Yt. **13.** 104).[2] Still another event is recorded in the eightieth year of the Faith; this is the death of the pious Asmōk-Khanvatō (Av. Asmō-hvanvat), as well as that of the wizard Akht, who is killed, and his name also appears in the Avesta as elsewhere.[3]

Later Disciples and Successors. — The same Pahlavi text from which the quotations have been made, furnishes also the names of 'six great upholders of the religion.'[4] These are Zoroaster's two daughters, 'Frēnŏ and Srītŏ, with Aharūbŏstōtō, son of Mēṯyōmah' — three names which appear in the Avesta and which have been given in Chapter II. Next is mentioned Vohūnēm (Av. Vohu-nemah, Yt. **13.** 104), whose birth occurred in the fortieth year of the Religion, or seven years before Zoroaster's death. But most important is Sēnō of Būst, in the land of Sagastān,[5] who is said to have flourished for a hundred years and to have left behind him, as the sixth prop and support of the Religion, a hundred pupils whose teaching fills the century until the coming of Alexander brought ruin and desolation upon the Faith.[6]

The Greeks likewise recognize a long line of apostles and dis-

[1] B.C. 567. See Appendix III. below.

[2] Compare Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10 with Yt. **13.** 104.

[3] Phl. Zsp. **23.** 10; Av. Yt. **13.** 96; **1.** 30 = **22.** 37; **5.** 82; cf. Yōsht-ī Fryānō **1.** 2, and West's note in *SBE.* xlvii, 166.

[4] Zsp. **23.** 11.

[5] Būst is described by the pseudo-Ibn-Ḥauḳal as being on the river Hērmend (Hilmend) between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206). This information is from West in his letter translating for me the 'Wonders of Sagastān.'

[6] B.C. 331; see Appendix III. On the teacher Sēnō (Av. Saēna), cf. Yt. **13.** 97; Zsp. **23.** 11; Dk. **7.** 7. 6; and consult West, *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 118, § 99, Peshotan Dastur Behramjee Sanjana, Dīnkarṯ, vol. v. p. 308 (reading *Sēnō* for *Dāyūn;* cf. Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 530); especially also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, p. 12 in *Bombay Branch, JRAS.* art. xvii. June, 1896.

ciples, or Magian priests, descending from Zoroaster. Diogenes Laertius (A.D. second and third century) *de Vit. Philos.* Procem 2, seems to base his statement on the older authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250) when he states that 'after Zoroaster there were many different Magians in unbroken succession, such as Ostanes, Astrampsychus, Gobryas, Pazates, until the overthrow of the Persians by Alexander.'[1] The Latin writer Pliny employs the name of a Magian, Apuscorus, and he designates as Osthanes the Magian priest who accompanied Xerxes on his great Hellenic expedition and introduced the Magic Art into Greece.[2] And so the chain runs on, link after link in unending sequence; and in spite of the changes and chances of transitory fortune, the line of apostolic succession remains unbroken to the present, down to its representatives to-day in the priesthood that cherishes the sacred flame in the fire-temple of Bombay!

Prophecies and Future Events. — As several times alluded to already, the Pahlavi Bahman Yasht describes an apocalyptic vision in which Zoroaster is supposed to have beheld, unfolded before him, the whole future history of the Religion. The four or seven branches of the tree which rises before his eyes, symbolize emblematically the gold, silver, steel, and iron, or other eras, of the Faith down to the final Millennium, all of which is foretokened. These prophecies are not ancient, however, but they date rather from the times that came after the Mohammedan Conquest, when Zoroastrianism sank before the rising power of Islam. Nevertheless, they sweep in rapid glance the whole history of the Religion and they summarize

[1] This subject has already been alluded to in Chap. I., and the text of the passage is given in Appendix V. and in Appendix II. The plurals indicate type or class. In connection with Astrampsychus, moreover, we may recall the later dream-book which bears his name, *Astrampsychi Oneirocriticon, sive Somniorum Interpretatio*, recogn. Scaliger, Paris, 1599.

[2] Cf. Appendix V., and also Kleuker, *Zend-Av. Anhang*, ii. Thl. 3, p. 91; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.*, pp. 285, n. 2, 286. Furthermore, on a mention of Osthanes, Hostanes, in Minucius Felix, compare Kleuker, tom. cit. p. 119.

the great eras which the Founder himself in his wise judgment and prophetic insight might in a general way have forecast as the history of nations and of faiths, even though he did not express it.

Summary. — Zoroastrianism does not die with its founder. National events have changed the course of its history, but it lives on. The occurrences of the years that intervened between the death of the Prophet and the coming of Alexander, so far as they are chronicled by tradition, are worth recording as the result, in a way, of Zoroaster's life, and they are interesting from the standpoint of comparison between tradition and actual history.

CHAPTER XII

CONCLUSION

'Read the conclusion, then.'
— SHAKSPERE, *Pericles*, 1. 1. 56.

AND now the story of the life and legend of the Prophet of ancient Iran — the sage who was born to leave his mark upon the world, who entered upon his ministry at the age of thirty, and who died by violence at the age of seventy-seven — is at an end. Hurriedly we may scan once more the pages of his career. Born in the fulness of time, he appears as a prophet in the latter half of the seventh century before the Christian era, and the period of his activity falls between the closing years of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power. He himself stands as the oldest type and representative of what we may call, in the language of the Bible, the laws of the Medes and Persians. His teaching had already taken deep root in the soil of Iran when the Jews were carried up into captivity in Babylon and had learned of that law which altereth not, or before a Daniel came to interpret the ominous handwriting on the wall which the soothsayers failed to read. Zoroaster is the contemporary of Thales, of Solon, or of the Seven Sages of classical antiquity. He is the forerunner of Confucius, the philosopher who was to arise to expound to China the tenets of her people's faith. By him is sounded in Iran the trumpet-call that afterwards echoes with a varied note in India when the gentle Buddha comes forth to preach to thirsting souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. Zoroaster, finally, is the father, the holy prototype, of those

Wise Men from the East who came and bowed before the new-born Light of the World in the manger-cradle at Bethlehem.

Zoroaster was a Magian; the Magi, as Herodotus tells us, were a Median tribe. Although he was born in Atropatene in the west, it is not impossible that much of his prophetic career was spent in the east, in Bactria or in that region of country. We certainly have evidence that the seeds of his teaching found fruitful soil in eastern Iran. Crusading achieved the rest. The story of the Holy Wars between Iran and Turan, the storming of Balkh, the final victories in the great battles of Khorassān or Bactria, have all been told. The spread of the Creed continues. Media itself doubtless generally accepted the reform of the Prophet. The Median name Fravartish has been interpreted by Justi to mean 'Confessor' (i.e. of the Zoroastrian Faith), and has been instanced as a proof of its acceptance, although this appellation seems rather to be an old Magian name, agreeing with the concept *fravaši*, which apparently existed before the Zoroastrian reform. The Magians themselves were known long prior to the time of Zoroaster, as Albīrūnī (p. 314) expressly states; but, as he adds, in the course of time there remains 'no pure, unmixed portion of them who do not practise the religion of Zoroaster.' This tends to prove how universally the doctrines had found acceptance. The question as to the time when and the manner in which the Faith entered Persia Proper is reserved for discussion elsewhere.

As to the general deductions which have been drawn, we may say that time will doubtless prove or disprove the accuracy or inaccuracy of many of the statements upon which they are based. Some of these may be shown to rest upon a foundation of fact rather than fiction, especially if we may judge from the tendency of recent years in finding confirmation for tradition. Some, however, may be proved to be purely fanciful. We can but gain by the truth in either case. The historic import of

some, moreover, may be shown to be not without interest. In the light of such, perhaps, the current views with regard to the relationship between Zoroastrianism and Judaism may take on a new aspect, particularly if we emphasize the fact that Zoroaster arose in the west, in Atropatene and Media, about the time of the early Prophetic Period of Israel. From the Bible we know that captive Jews were early carried up from Samaria into certain cities of the Medes. From the Avesta, on the other hand, we know that Zoroaster had rung out a trumpet note and clarion cry of reform, of prophecy, and of Messianic promise, before the days of Babylonian Exile.

From our knowledge, too, of contemporaneous history we recall in the current of events that the reputed empire of Bactria, if it existed, had yielded the prestige to Media; and that the sovereignty of Media was swept away before the glorious power of Persia. In Persia, Greece recognized a culmination of the glory of Iran. Though the Greek vanquishes the Persian in battle, he still has stories to tell of Magian wisdom and of Eastern philosophy. Plato, Pythagoras, and other great thinkers are claimed to have emulated the teachings of the Magi; and later Moslem or Zoroastrian tradition asserts that the ancient sacred writings of Iran, the quintessence of all knowledge, were translated into Greek.

And as for imperial times, the Persian wars brought Rome into contact with Zoroastrians, as they had brought the Greeks. A phase of Zoroastrianism known as Mithraism penetrated into Rome and into Western Europe. The rise of the Neo-Platonic school was certainly not without influence from Zoroastrianism, nor without influence upon later Zoroastrianism. The tenets of Zoroastrian Manichæism even disturbed Christian thought for a time. In all such cases the relations doubtless are more or less reciprocal. Even the pages of the Koran and the doctrines of Mohammed are not free from the influence of the Faith which they vanquished by the sword. The spark of the sacred fire has never been quenched; the holy flame continues to

blaze; and the Religion of Zoroaster still lives on. Yes, and whatever may be the changing fates, it will live on, so long as there are successors worthy to bear the name of the Master, as are the Parsis to-day, those faithful followers of the Creed of the Prophet of Ancient Iran.

Khujastah paī va nām-i ū Zaradušt.

—FIRDAUSĪ, *Shāh Nāmah.*

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APPENDIX I

SUGGESTED EXPLANATIONS OF ZOROASTER'S NAME

THE number of etymologies or explanations for Zoroaster's name (cf. p. 14) is almost legion. In Greek classical antiquity, Deinon offered an interpretation or paraphrase, as he defined the Prophet's name as 'Star-worshipper' (ἀστροθύτης); see citation in Diogenes Laertius, *Proœm*, **1**. 6: Δείνων . . . ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι. The Scholiast of the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. p. 122, evidently accepts this derivation when he says: Ζωροάστρης . . . οὗ δὲ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. See Appendix V. below. In this explanation the first part of the name (Ζωρ-) seems to be associated in some way with the later Persian *zōr* = Av. *zaoθrā-*, 'libation'; the latter portion of the name is Græcized as ἀστήρ; cf. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 275, and see also Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 425–428.

Somewhat similar appears to be the attempt of the Clementine Homilies and Recognitions to interpret as ζῶσα ῥοὴ ἀστέρος, or as *vivum sidus*, as given below in Appendix V., *Clem. Homil.* **9**. 3–6: διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν = *Recognitiones*, **4**. 27–29: *quasi vivum astrum. . . . Hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus.* See Appendix V., § 12, and cf. Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 34.

The next explanations, if we follow chronological sequence, are to be found in the Syro-Arabic Lexica of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) and of Bar Bahlūl (c. A.D. 936) as 'golden kingdom' or 'royal gold,' *zar*, 'gold' + *wašt*, 'kingship'; cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 27–28.

Lapse of time has not caused conjectures to cease, and etymologies have still continued to be offered. Hovelacque (*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme*, p. 135 seq., Paris, 1880) enumerates various suggestions that have been made, including the Clementine *vivum sidus* given above and recorded by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum*

Principatu, p. 387, Argentorati, 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); or another interpretation as 'friend of fire' proposed by Henry Lord, *Religion of the Parsees*, p. 152, London, 1630 = p. 332 a, Churchill ed. London, 1732; cf. likewise d'Herbelot, *Bibliothèque orientale*, art. 'Zoroastre'; or, again (as stated on Parsi authority), a proposed significance, 'bathed in gold,' 'melted silver,' *Zaer-sios*, *Zaersioest*, found in C. Le Bruyn, *Voyages en Perse et aux Indes orientales*, ii. p. 388. Most of these attempts are futile, as they were made without an acquaintance with the actual Avestan form *Zaraθuštra*.

The discussion by Anquetil du Perron (*Zend-Avesta*, i. Part 2, p. 2 seq., Paris, 1771) is of interest because he knew Avestan, but his conjecture '*Taschter* (astre) *d'or*' — connecting the name with Tishtrya — had little to recommend it. Eugène Burnouf was the first who rightly saw *uštra*, 'camel,' in the name and he explained *Zaraθ-uštra* as 'fulvos camelos habens' (*Comm. sur le Yaçna*, pp. 12–14, Paris, 1833); but he afterwards gave '*astre d'or*' (*Notes*, p. 166), see Brockhaus, *Vendidad Sade*, p. 361, Leipzig, 1850, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47, or earlier in *Jen. Litt. Zt.*, 1834, nr. 138, pp. 138–139. In the year 1855, Sir Henry Rawlinson made a guess that the name might be Semitic, i.e. *Zara-thuštra* = *Ziru-ištar* 'seed of Ishtar, descendant of Venus,' *JRAS., Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, xv. 227, 246 (cf. George Rawlinson, *Herodotus*, vol. iii. p. 455). On the contrary Haug, *Die fünf Gāthās*, ii. p. 246, *Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenlandes*, Leipzig, 1860, suggested 'trefflicher Lobsänger' (cf. Skt. *jarat* 'praising' + *uttara* 'superior') but he afterwards abandoned such a view. It was criticised also by Weber, *Lit. C. Bl.*, nr. 28, p. 457 (1861), nr. 27, p. 647 (1863) = *Ind. Streif.* pp. 449, 466 (1869). Also discussed by Mills, *Zoroastrian Gāthās*, p. 426 seq. (1892–4). Another scholar (Lassen, I believe, if we may judge from Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 46–47; Pott, *ZDMG.* xiii. 426 seq.) offered 'gold-smith' (cf. Skt. *hari* + *tvaṣṭar*). Jules Oppert made Zoroaster 'splendeur d'or' in his *L'Honover, le Verbe Créateur de Zoroastre*, p. 4, *Extrait des Ann. de Philos. Chrétienne*, Jan., 1862.

In the same year as Oppert (1862), Fr. Müller summarized a number of views that were current at the time and he explained *zaraθ-uštra* as 'muthige Kamele besitzend' (*Zendstudien*, i. 635–639, *Sitzungsberichte der Akademie*, Dez., 1862, Wien, 1862 = transl. by Darab Peshotan Sanjana *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 172 seq.). [But cf. *Lit. Centralblatt*, 1863, p. 614; and later Müller offers the bizarre interpretation as *zāθra-ušta* 'von der Geburt an Glück habend'

(*WZKM.* vi. 264, Wien, 1892).] Spiegel proposed 'Kamele peinigend' (*Sitzb. kgl. bayer. Akad. phil. cl.* p. 10, Jan. 5, 1867). In 1871, the Spanish scholar Ayuso accepted the more or less familiar identification of part of the name with 'star,' as shown by his 'estrella de oro' (*El Estudio de la Filología*, p. 180, Madrid, 1871); and he repeats the same view in his *Los Pueblos iranios y Zoroastro*, p. 7, Madrid, 1874.

Returning to France, it may next be noted that J. Darmesteter (*Ormazd et Ahriman*, p. 194, n., Paris, 1877) first proposed **zarat-vat-tra*, comparative degree of an adj. signifying 'rouge, couleur d'or'; but he later suggests 'aux chameaux jaunes' *zaraθu-uštra*, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 76, n., Paris, 1893; but on this see Bartholomae, *IF.* vi. Anz. p. 47. Ascoli once offered **zarat-vāstra* 'der bebauung des feldes zugewogen, zugethan' *Beiträge z. vgl. Spr.* v. 211, 1868. More recently Casartelli hinted at 'ploughing with camels' (cf. Skt. *hala-* 'plough'), *Academy*, vol. 31, p. 257, April 9, 1887. Other suggestions have been made such as Paulus Cassel, explaining as Hebraic 'Sternensohn' (*Zoroaster, sein Name und seine Zeit*, Berlin, 1886, cited from *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 40, n.). Brunnhofer, *Vom Pontus bis zum Indus*, p. 147, Leipzig, 1890. Kern's 'Goldglanz' (*Zara-thuštra*) and Brodbeck's 'Gold-stern' (evidently after Anquetil's etymology, cf. Brodbeck, *Zoroaster*, p. 30, Leipzig, 1893) are noted by Rindtorff, *Die Religion des Zarathuštra*, p. 13 (Weimar, 1897). E. Wilhelm has also incidentally dealt with the subject of Zoroaster's name in connection with the form Ζαθραύστης, which is found in Ctesias, in *Le Muséon*, x. 569–571, Louvain, 1891.

APPENDIX II

ON THE DATE OF ZOROASTER[1]

Presented to the American Oriental Society April 18th, 1895.

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GREAT men are the children of their age. Heirs to the heritage of the past, they are charged with the stewardship of the possessions to be handed down to the future. Summing up within themselves the influences of the times that call them forth, stamped with the impress of their day, their spirit in turn shows its reflex upon the age that gives them birth. We read them in their age; we read their age in them. So it is of the prophets and sages, religious teachers and interpreters, which have been since the world began. The teaching of a prophet is the voice of the age in which he lives; his preaching is the echo of the heart of the people of his day. The era of a prophet is therefore not without its historic siguificance; it is an event that marks an epoch in the life of mankind. The age of most of the great religious teachers of antiquity is comparatively well known; but wide diversity prevails with regard to the date at which Iran's ancient prophet Zoroaster lived and taught; yet his appearance must have had its national significance in the land between the Indus and the Tigris; and the great religious movement which he set on foot must have wrought changes and helped to shape the course of events in the early history of Iran. The treatment of this question forms the subject of the present paper.[2]

[1] This paper forms a companion-piece to the present writer's discussion of 'Zoroaster's Native Place' in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232.

[2] [Since the appearance of the monograph on the 'Date of Zoroaster,' which is here reprinted, the general subject of Zoroastrian chronology has been ably treated by E. W. West (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. p. xxvii. seq.). Dr. West's researches confirm the results here obtained; and he is in a position to define the date of Zoroaster still more precisely, at least on the basis of tradition, as B.C. 660–583. His entire discussion should be read. An extract from his chronological table is given in Appendix III.]

The Avesta itself gives us no direct information in answer to the inquiry as to the date of Zoroaster. It presents, indeed, a picture of the life and times; we read accounts of King Vishtāspa, the Constantine of the Faith; but the fragments that remain of the sacred texts present no absolutely clear allusions to contemporary events that might decisively fix the era. The existing diversity of opinion with reference to Zoroaster's date is largely due to this fact and to certain incongruities in other ancient statements on the subject. The allusions of antiquity to this subject may conveniently be divided into three groups:[3]—

[3] [The results of earlier investigators of the subject, Brisson, Stanley, Hyde, Buddeus, Prideaux, and others, as mentioned by Anquetil du Perron, are practically included in his examination of the problem of Zoroaster's date. Anquetil's treatise, together with Foucher's previous inquiries into the subject, are accessible in Kleuker, *Anhang zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, pp. 325–374, and Thl. 2, pp. 55–81. They are of interest to the specialist. Cf. also Spiegel, *Avesta Uebersetzt*, i. 43, n. The later bibliography of the subject is given below in the course of the investigation.]

I. First, those references that assign to Zoroaster [= orig. p. 2] the extravagant date B.C. 6000.

II. Second, such allusions as connect his name with the more or less legendary Ninus and the uncertain Semiramis.

III. Third, the traditional date, placing the era of Zoroaster's teaching at some time during the sixth century B.C.

All the material will first be presented under the headings A. I., A. II., and A. III.; then a detailed discussion of the data, pages 16–19 = pp. 170–174, under the heading B; and, finally, a summary of results, under the heading C, pages 19–22 = pp. 174–177.

SYNOPSIS OF DIVISION A.

A. I. Classical passages placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

- **a.** Pliny the Elder.
- **b.** Plutarch.
- **c.** Scholion to Plato.
- **d.** Diogenes Laertius.
- **e.** Lactantius.
- **f.** Suidas.
- **g.** Georgius Syncellus.

A. II. Passages associating Zoroaster's name with Semiramis and Ninus.

a. Ctesias.
b. Cephalion (Moses of Khorene, Georgius Syncellus).
c. Theon.
d. Justin.
e. Arnobius.
f. Eusebius.
g. Orosius.
h. Suidas.
i. Snorra Edda.
j. Bar 'Alī.

A. III. The native tradition as to Zoroaster's date.

a. Arṭā Vīrāf.
b. Būndahishn.
c. Albīrūnī.
d. Masūdī.
e. Ṭabarī.
f. The Dabistān.
g. Firdausī.
h. The Mujmal al-Tawārīkh and the Ulamā-ī Islām.
i. The Chinese-Parsi era.
j. Reports connecting Zoroaster and Jeremiah.
k. Pahlavi Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar.
l. Ammianus Marcellinus and Eutychius.
m. Nicolaus Damascenus, Porphyry, etc.

A. Data for the Age of Zoroaster.

A. I. Allusions placing Zoroaster at 6000 B.C.

The allusions of the first group comprehend those classical references that assign to Zoroaster the fabulous age of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts.[1] These references are confined chiefly to the classics, and their chief claim to any consideration is that they purport to be based upon information handed down from Eudoxus, Aristotle, and Hermippus. Such extraordinary figures, however, are presumably due to the Greeks' having misunderstood the statements of the Persians, who place Zoroaster's millennium amid a great world-period of 12,000 years, which they divided into cycles of 3000 years,[2] and in accordance with which belief Zoroaster's *fravashi* had in fact existed several thousands of years. The classical material on the subject is here presented.

[= orig. p. 3]

[1] So the general classical statements of '5000 years before the Trojan war,' or the like, although some variant readings 500 (for 5000) are found. The number 5000 (6000) is, however, the correct one.

[2] According to the chronology of the Būndahishn 34. 7, Zoroaster appeared at the end of the ninth millennium: compare, West, *Bundahish transl. SBE.* v. 149–151 notes; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 500–508; Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 147–165; also Plutarch *Is. et Os.* 47, Θεόπομπος δέ φησι κατὰ τοὺς μάγους ἀνὰ μέρος τρισχίλια ἔτη τὸν μὲν κρατεῖν, τὸν δὲ κρατεῖσθαι τῶν θεῶν, ἄλλα δὲ τρισχίλια μάχεσθαι καὶ πολεμεῖν καὶ ἀναλύειν τὰ τοῦ ἑτέρου τόν ἕτερον· τέλος δ' ἀπολείπεσθαι τὸν Ἀιδην.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 [Wn. 279, 288], cites the authority of Eudoxus of Cnidus (B.C. 368), of Aristotle (B.C. 350), and of Hermippus (c. B.C. 250), for placing Zoroaster 6000 years before the death of Plato or 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam (artem magicam) intellegi voluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex milibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit; sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit et viciens centum milia versuum a Zoroastre condita indicibus quoque voluminum eius positis explanavit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, credidit Agonacen, ipsum vero quinque milibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse.* For that reason apparently (*N. H.* 30. 2. 11) he speaks of Moses as living *multis milibus annorum post Zoroastrem.* But Pliny also expresses uncertainty as to whether there was one or two Zoroasters, and he mentions a later Proconnesian Zoroaster: *N. H.* 30. 2. 1 *sine dubio illic (ars Magica) orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat;* and after speaking of Osthanes, the Magian who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he adds: (*N. H.* 30. 2. 8.) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc (Osthanem) ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* Pliny's Proconnesian Zoroaster must have flourished about the seventh or sixth century. [See Appendix V. § 5, below.]

(b) Plutarch (A.D. 1st century), adopts likewise the same general statement that places the prophet Zoroaster about 5000 years before the Trojan war: *Is. et Os.* 46 (ed. Parthey, p. 81), Ζωρόαστρις (*sic*) ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. [See Appendix V. § 6, below.]

(c) The Scholion to the Platonic *Alcibiades* I. 122 (ed. Baiter, Orelli et Winckelmann, p. 918), makes a statement, in substance tantamount to the last one, as follows: Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος. [See Appendix V. § 1.]

[= orig. p. 4] (d) Diogenes Laertius (A.D. 2d, 3d century), *de Vit. Philos.* Procem. 2 (recens. Cobet, Paris, 1850, p. 1), similarly quotes Hermodorus (B.C. 250 ?), the follower of Plato, as authority for placing Zoroaster's date at 5000 years before the fall of Troy, or, as he adds on the authority of Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450), Zoroaster lived 6000 years (some MSS. 600) before Xerxes. The text runs: *ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶν εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια· Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.* [See Appendix V. § 15.]

(e) Lactantius, *Inst.* 7. 15, must have entertained some similar opinion regarding Zoroaster; for he speaks of Hystaspes (famous as Zoroaster's patron) as being an ancient king of Media long before the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus . . . sublatum iri ex orbe imperium nomenque Romanum multo ante praefatus est, quam illa Troiana gens conderetur* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog.* tom. 6 and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(f) Suidas (10th century A.D.), s. v. *Ζωροάστρης*, speaks of two Zoroasters, of whom one lived 500 (read 5000) years before the Trojan war, while the other was an astronomer of the time of Ninus — *ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ'.*

(g) Georgius Syncellus, *Chronographia*, i. p. 147, ed. Dindorf, alludes to a Zoroaster as one of the Median rulers over Babylon. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302, and Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. On Syncellus' citation of Cephalion, see next page.

A. II. Allusions associating Zoroaster's Name with Semiramis and Ninus.

Second to be considered is a series of statements which connect the name of Zoroaster with that of the more or less uncertain Ninus and Semiramis.[1] These references also are confined almost exclusively to the classics, and the difficulty with them is that, in addition to their general character, which bears a legendary coloring, they are based apparently upon a misinterpretation of the name

Ὀξυάρτης or its variants in a fragment of Ctesias (discussed below), which has been understood as an allusion to Zoroaster.

[1] The date of Semiramis, however, is regarded by Lehmann (*Berliner Philolog. Wochenblatt*, Nr. 8, col. 239-240, 17 Febr. 1894, comparing Hdt. 1. 184) to be about B.C. 800.

(a) The authority of Ctesias (B.C. 400) is quoted by Diodorus Siculus (A.D. 1st century) 2. 6, for the statement that Ninus with a large army invaded Bactria and by the aid of Semiramis gained a victory over King Oxyartes. See Fragments of the Persika of Ktesias, ed. Gilmore, p. 29. Instead of the name Ὀξυάρτης, the manuscript variants show Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης. The last somewhat recalls the later Persian form of the name Zoroaster; and Cephalion, Justin, Eusebius, and Arnobius, drawing on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian or the opponent [= orig. p. 5] of Ninus (see below); but Ὀξυάρτης may very well be an independent name, identical as far as form goes with Av. *uxšyaṯ-ərəta*, Yt. 13. 128, and it is doubtless the better Greek reading. The other statements are here given as they similarly come into consideration with respect to Zoroaster's native place. They are: —

(b) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120), preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* 1. 43, ed. Aucher: a passage describes the defeat of Zoroaster the Magian, king of the Bactrians, by Semiramis: "*Incipio scribere de quibus et alii commemorarunt atque imprimis Hellanicus Lesbius Ctesiasque Cnidius, deinde Herodotus Halicarnassus.*[1] *Primum Asiae imperarunt Assyrii, ex quibus erat Ninus Beli (filius), cuius regni aetate res quam plurimae celeberrimaeque virtutes gestae fuerunt.*" *Postea his adiciens profert etiam generationes Semiramidis atque (narrat) de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide: nec non tempus Nini LII annos fuisse, atque de obitu eius. Post quem quum regnasset Semiramis, muro Babylonem circumdedit ad eandem formam, qua a plerisque dictum est: Ctesia nimirum et Zenone Herodotoque nec non aliis ipsorum posteris. Deinde etiam apparatum belli Semiramidis adversus Indos eiusdemque cladem et fugam narrat, etc.* This statement is recorded by Georgius Syncellus (c. A.D. 800), *Chron.*, ed. Dind. i. p. 315: "Ἀρχομαι γράφειν, ἀφ' ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν, καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος." εἶτ' ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου (MSS.

βάτου) ἔτει νβ' τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας. μεθ' ὃν Βαβυλῶνα, φησὶν, ἡ Σεμίραμις ἐτείχισε, τρόπον ὡς πολλοῖς λέλεκται, Κτησίᾳ, Ζήνωνι (Müller, Δείνωνι), Ἡροδότῳ καὶ τοῖς μετ' αὐτούς· στρατείην τε αὐτῆς κατὰ τῶν Ἰνδῶν καὶ ἦτταν κ. τ. λ. Cf. also Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 303, Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 676–677; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627. Furthermore, on the reputed work of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, i. 16, see Gilmore, *Ktesias Persika*, p. 30, n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alter.* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 304–305; Müller, *Frag. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328; Langlois, *Historiens de l'Arménie*, ii. 45–175, Paris, 1867–1869. [The Armenian Thomas Arzrounī associates Zoroaster's name with Semiramis. See Appendix VI.]

[1] This mention of Herodotus might possibly be adduced as an argument that Herodotus was at least acquainted with the name of Zoroaster.

(c) Again, Theon (A.D. 130 ?), *Progymnasmata* 9, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. p. 115, speaks of "Zoroaster the Bactrian" in connection with Semiramis: Οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος ἀνδρειότερον εἶναι. Cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290, Spiegel *Eran. Alterthumsk.* i. 677. [See Appendix V. § 8.]

[= orig. p. 6] (d) Justin (A.D. 120), in his epitome of Trogus Pompeius' *Hist. Philippic.* 1. 1, distinctly makes Zoroaster the opponent of Ninus, and says that he was king of Bactria and a Magician: *postremum bellum illi fuit cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, qui primus dicitur artes magicas invenisse et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse.* [See Appendix V. § 10.]

(e) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes*, 1. 5, in like manner mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Gilmore, *Ktesias*, p. 36. [See Appendix V. § 16.]

(f) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* 4. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Praeparatio Evang.* 10. 9, 10, ed. Dind. I. p. 560, Νίνος, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. [See Appendix V. § 18.]

(g) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.), the Spanish presbyter, of whose chronicle we have also King Alfred's Anglo-Saxon version, states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the

Magician. See Orosius, *Old-English Text and Latin Original*, ed. by Henry Sweet (Early Eng. Text Soc. vol. 79), p. 30–31: *Novissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae artis repertorem, pugna oppressum interfecit.* Or, in Anglo-Saxon, *and hē Ninus Soroastrem Bactriana cyning, se cūthe ǣrest manna drȳcræftas, hē hine oferwann and ofslōh.*

(h) Suidas in his Lexicon (s. v. *Zoroaster*) assumes the existence of two Zoroasters (cf. p. 4 = p. 154), the second an astrologer: Ἀστρονόμος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. [Appendix V. § 45.]

(i) In the Snorra Edda Preface, Zoroaster is identified with Baal or Bel, cf. Jackson in *PAOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. p. cxxvi. [See Appendix VI.]

(j) In some Syriac writers and elsewhere an identification of Zoroaster with Balaam is recorded, for example in the Lexicon of Bar ʿAlī (c. A.D. 832), s. v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians.' See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Lit.* pp. 27, 30 n., 32 (Drisler Classical Studies, N. Y., 1894). Sometimes he is only compared with Balaam. [An association of his name with Ham, Seth, and Abraham, is also found.]

A. III. The Native Tradition as to Zoroaster's Date.

Third, the direct Persian tradition comes finally into consideration. This tradition is found in the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn, 34. 1–9, is supported by the Arṭā Vīrāf, 1. 2–5 [and Zāṭ-sparam, 23. 12], and is corroborated by abundant Arabic allusions (Albīrūnī, Masūdī, *et al.*). It unanimously places the opening of Zoroaster's ministry at 258 years before the era of Alexander, or 272 years before the close of the world-conqueror's dominion. According to these figures, the date of Zoroaster would fall between the latter half of the seventh century B.C. and the middle of the sixth century; his appearance in fact would be placed
in the period just preceding the rise of the Achae- [= orig. p. 7]
menian dynasty. This merits attention also in detail.

(a) The Arṭā Vīrāf 1. 1–5 in round numbers places Zoroaster three hundred years before Alexander's invasion. Compare Haug and West, *Arda Viraf*, p. 141. 'The pious Zaratusht made the religion which he had received, current in the world, and till the end of 300 years the religion was in purity and men were without doubts. But afterwards the accursed Evil Spirit, the wicked one, in order to make men doubtful of this religion, instigated the accursed Alexan-

der, the Rūman, who was dwelling in Egypt, so that he came to the country of Iran with severe cruelty and war and devastation; he also slew the ruler of Iran, and destroyed the metropolis and empire.' [The Zāṯ-sparam 23. 12 likewise alludes to the fact that the religion remained undisturbed 'until the 300th year'].

(b) The Būndahishn chapter (ch. 34) 'on the reckoning of the years' (to which one MS. adds — 'of the Arabs') more exactly computes the various millenniums that made up the 12,000 years of the great world-cycle recognized by the worshippers of Mazda. In this period the era of Zoroaster falls at the close of the first 9000 years. He is placed in reality at the beginning of the historic period, if the long reigns attributed to Kaī-Vishtāsp and to Vohūman son of Spend-dāṯ (Av. Spentō-dāta, N. P. Isfendīār), may with reasonably fair justice be explained as that of a ruling house. There seems at least no distinct ground against such assumption. [West also explains the fabulous length of 120 years for Vishtāsp's reign, or B.C. 660–540, as representing a short dynasty — *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70]. The Būndahishn passage, 34. 7–8, in West's translation (*SBE.* v. 150–151) reads, (7) 'Kaī-Vishtāsp, till the coming of the religion, thirty years, altogether a hundred and twenty years. (8) Vohūman, *son* of Spend-dāṯ, a hundred and twelve years; Hūmāī, who *was* daughter of Vohūman, thirty years; Dārāī, son of Cīhar-āzād, that is, *of the daughter* of Vohūman, twelve years; Dārāī, son of Dārāī, fourteen years; Alexander the Rūman, fourteen years.'

Vishtāsp, after coming of religion	90
Vohūman Spend-dāṯ	112
Hūmāī	30
Dārāī-ī Cīhar-āzāṯ	12
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14
Alexander Rūman	14
	272

The result therefore gives 272 years from 'the coming of the religion' until the close of the dominion of Alexander the Great, or 258 years before the beginning of his power. A repeated tradition exists that Zoroaster was forty-two years old when he first converted King Vishtāspa, who became his patron. If we interpret 'the coming of the religion' to mean its acceptance by Vishtāspa, we must add 42 years to the number 258 before Alexander in order to obtain the traditional date of Zoroaster's birth. This would answer

to the 'three hundred years before Alexander' of the Arṭā Vīrāf. If, however, we take the phrase 'coming of the religion' to mean the date of Zoroaster's entry upon his ministry [= orig. p. 8] (as does West, *SBE.* v. 219), we must then add 30 years, which was Zoroaster's age when he beheld his first vision of Ormazd. [The latter view is the correct one as shown by West. It is worth remarking that as Zoroaster's revelation and the 'coming of the religion' are placed in the thirtieth year of Vishtāsp's reign as well as of the Prophet's life, both men accordingly would be represented as born in the same year if we adopt an Oriental custom in dating a king's accession to the throne from the day of his birth.]

A calculation based upon the figures of this tradition would place Zoroaster's birth 42 years + 258 years (= 300 years) before B.C. 330, the date of the fall of the Iranian kingdom through Alexander's conquest; in other words it would assign Zoroaster's birth to about B.C. 630. [But as West has shown (*SBE.* xlvii. §§ 53–54), there is an evident omission of 35 years in the reckoning; he accounts for this error and combines the items, 272 years of Bd. 34. 7–8 with this date of Alexander's death, B.C. 323, and with the 30th year of Zoroaster's life in which the Revelation came, and he finds B.C. 660 as the traditional date of the birth of Zoroaster and of Vishtāsp's accession. See below, Appendix III.] According to the same tradition the duration of the various reigns of the Kayanian dynasty would be about as follows [West's corrected chronology now included]: —

King.	Reigned years.	Fictitious date B.C.	[West's correction, including 35 years.]
Vishtāsp	120	618–498	660–540
Vohūman (Ardashīr Dirāzdast) .	112	498–386	540–428
Hūmāī	30	386–356	428–363
Dārāī	12	356–344	363–351
Dārāī-ī Dārāī	14	344–330	351–337
[Accession of Alexander to his invasion			337–331]

The results would be somewhat altered if the computation be made according to lunar years or if a different point of departure be taken. The excessive lengths of the reigns of Vishtāsp and Vohūman seem suspicious and suggest round numbers unless we are to interpret them as comprising successive rulers; for example, in historic times, beside Hystaspes, the father of Darius, we have the names of two other Hystaspes, later connected with the ruling house of Bactria.[1]

The historic reigns of the Achaemenians may be compared (cf. Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire*, p. 107).

Cyrus	B.C. 558–529
Cambyses	529–521
Darius I.	521–485
Xerxes	485–465
Artaxerxes Longimanus	465–425
Darius Nothos	425–405
Artaxerxes Mnemon	405–362
Artaxerxes Ochus	362–340
[Arses]	340–337
Darius Codomannus	337–330

Comparison may be made, as with West,[2] identifying the long reign of Vohūman who is called Ardashīr (Artaxerxes or Ardashīr Dirāzdast 'the long-handed') with Artaxerxes Longimanus and his successors. Historical grounds throughout seem to favor this. For Hūmāī, West suggests Parysatis as a possibility. The last two Dārāīs answer to Ochus and Codomannus, and the reign of Kaī-Vishtāsp 'seems intended to cover the period from Cyrus to Xerxes' (West).[3] There seems every reason to identify Vohūman Ardashīr Dirāzdast with Artaxerxes Longimanus, according to the Bahman Yasht (Byt. 2. 17), as this Kayanian king 'makes the religion current *in* the whole world.'[4] One might be possibly tempted to regard the Vishtāsp reign as representing the Bactrian rule until Artaxerxes, and assume that Zoroastrianism then became the faith of Persis.[5] This might account for the silence as to
[= orig. p. 9] the early Achaemenians and shed some light on the problem concerning the Achaemenians as Zoroastrians; but there seems to be no historic foundation for such assumption. Suffice here to have presented the tradition in regard to the reigns of the Kayanian kings as bearing on Zoroaster's date and the traditional 258 years before Alexander as the era of 'the coming of the religion.'

[1] See genealogical tables of the Achaemenidae in Stokvis, *Manuel d'Histoire, de Généalogie, et de Chronologie*, p. 108 (Leide, 1888); Pauly, *Real-Encyclopædie*, article 'Achaemenidae'; Justi, *Geschichte des alten Persiens*, p. 15; *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 398–399; and Smith, *Classical Dictionary*, article 'Hystaspes.'

[2] West, *Bundahish translated*, *SBE.* v. 150 n., 198 n.

[3] De Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, *Introduction* p. ccxxviii, thinks that the early Achaemenians were intentionally sacrificed. Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203,

identifies the first Dārāī with Darius I., and believes that he was misplaced in the kingly list. This I doubt.

[4] West, *Byt. transl.*, *SBE.* v. 199. [See also above, pp. 81–82. Consult J. H. Moulton in *The Thinker*, ii. 498–501.]

[5] Dubeux, *La Perse*, p. 57, sharply separates the Oriental account of the Persian kings from the historical account.

(c) The sum of 258 years is given also by so careful an investigator as Albīrūnī (A.D. 973–1048). His statements are based on the authority of 'the scholars of the Persians, the Hērbadhs and Maubadhs of the Zoroastrians.'[1] In his *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 17, l. 17 (transl. Sachau), is found a statement of the Persian view in regard to Zoroaster's date: 'from his (*i.e.* Zoroaster's) appearance till the beginning of the Æra Alexandri,[2] they count 258 years.' Several times he gives the received tradition that Zoroaster appeared in the 30th year of the reign of Vishtāsp. In another place, *Chron.* p. 196 (transl. Sachau), he gives further information in regard to Zoroaster's time: 'On the 1st Ramaḍān A.H. 319 came forward Ibn 'Abī-Zakarriyā. . . . If, now, this be the time (*i.e.* A.H. 319 = A.D. 931) which Jāmāsp and Zarādusht meant, they are right as far as chronology is concerned. For this happened at the end of the Æra Alexandri 1242, *i.e.* 1500 years after Zarādusht.' From this statement we may compute back to the year B.C. 569 as a date when a prophecy is supposed to have been made by Zoroaster and Jāmāsp. Albīrūnī is not exhausted yet. In *Chron.* 121 (transl. Sachau), he says, 'we find the interval between Zoroaster and Yazdajird ben Shāpūr to be nearly 970 years.' This gives the date about B.C. 571 if we count Yazdajird's reign as A.D. 399–420. Furthermore the carefully constructed tables which Albīrūnī gives from various sources are interesting and instructive, owing to their exact agreement with the reigns of the Kayanian kings as recorded in the Būndahishn. Thus, *Chron.* p. 112, 107–114 (transl. Sachau): —

Kai Vishtāsp till the appearance of Zoroaster	30
The same after that event	90
Kai Ardashīr Bahman (Vohūman)	112
Khumānī (Hūmāī)	30
Dārā	12
Dārā ben Dārā	14

On p. 115 he contrasts these dates with those given by [= orig. p. 10] early occidental authorities. Finally, *Chron.* p. 32 (transl. Sachau), the name of Thales is brought into connection with

Zoroaster, cf. p. 169, n. 3 below. So much for the information furnished by Albīrūnī.

[1] Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, transl. and ed. by Sachau, p. 109.

[2] According to Albīrūnī, p. 32 (transl. Sachau) the Æra Alexandri would date from the time when Alexander left Greece at the age of twenty-six years, preparing to fight with Darius.

(d) Of somewhat earlier date but identical in purport is the statement found in Masūdī's *Meadows of Gold*, written in A.D. 943–944 (Masūdī died A.D. 957). Like the Būndahishn and like Albīrūnī, Masūdī reports that 'the Magians count a period of two hundred and fifty-eight (258) years between their prophet Zoroaster and Alexander.'[1] He reiterates this assertion in *Indicatio et Admonitio*[2] by saying 'between Zoroaster and Alexander there are about three hundred years.' Nearly the same, but not exactly identical figures, are found as in the Būndahishn, regarding the length of the reigns of the various Kayanian kings; Zoroaster is stated, as elsewhere, to have appeared in the thirtieth (30) year of Vishtāsp's reign and he dies at the age of seventy-seven (77) after having taught for thirty-five (35) years.[3] The statement that Zoroaster lived to the age of 77 years is also found elsewhere.[4] What Masūdī has to say on the subject of Nebuchadnezzar's being a lieutenant of Lohrāsp (Aurvaṯ-aspa) and regarding Cyrus as contemporary with Bahman will be mentioned below, as a similar statement occurs in the Dīnkarṯ (Bk. 5). [West, *SBE.* xlvii. 120.]

[1] Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Les Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, iv. 107 'Les Mages comptent entre leur prophète Zoroastre, fils d'Espimān, et Alexandre, une période de deux cent cinquante-huit ans. Entre Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans, et l'avénement d'Ardéchir, cinq cent dix-sept ans ; enfin entre Ardéchir et l'hégire cinq cent soixante-quatre ans . . . du règne d'Alexandre à la naissance du Messie, trois cent soixante-neuf ans; de la naissance du Messie à celle du Prophète cinq cent vingt et un ans.' Observe especially that Masūdī in *Indicatio et Admonitio*, (p. 327–328) accounts for the intentional shortening of the period between Alexander and Ardashīr. What he has to say on this subject is worth looking up in connection with *SBE.* v. 151 n.

[2] Masūdī, *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (in *Prairies d'Or*, ix. p. 327), 'Zoroastre fils de Poroschasp fils d'Asinman, dans l'Avesta, qui est le livre qui lui a été révélé, annonce que, dans trois cents ans, l'empire des Perses éprouvera une grande révolution, sans que la religion soit détruite ; mais qu'au bout de mille ans, l'empire et la religion périront en même temps. Or entre Zoroastre et Alexandre il y a environ trois cents ans ; car

Zoroastre a paru du temps de Caïbistasp, fils de Caïlohrasp, comme nous l'avons dit ci-devant.' See Masūdī, *Kitāb al-Tanbīh*, p. 90 seq., ed. de Goeje, Leyden, 1894. Compare also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 35 (in Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894); [and *Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, traduction par B. C. de Vaux (Société Asiatique), p. 140, Paris, 1896].

[3] Masūdī, *Prairies d'Or*, ii. p. 123, ed. Barbier de Meynard. 'Youstasf (Gustasp) régna après son père (Lohrasp) et résida à Balkh. Il était sur le trône depuis trente ans, lorsque Zeradecht, fils d'Espimān se présenta devant lui . . . (p. 127). Youstasf régna cent vingt ans avant d'adopter la religion des Mages, puis il mourut. La prédication de Zeradecht dura trente-cinq ans, et il mourut âgé de soixante et dix-sept ans.' The detailed reigns (Masūdī, op. cit. ii. 126–129) are Vishtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30 (or more), Dārā 12, Dārā son of Dārā 30, Alexander 6 (cf. vol. iv. p. 107 'Alexandre, qu'ils font régner six ans'). The latter would answer pretty nearly to the commonly received years of Alexander in Persia, B.C. 330–323. Observe that the years of the last three reigns vary somewhat from the Būndahishn. Deducting from Vishtāsp's reign the 30 years till Zoroaster appeared and counting simply to the coming of Alexander, the resulting 274 years would place Zoroaster's appearance at B.C. 604 or, if 42 years old at the time, his birth at B.C. 646. [See now West's correction which gives B.C. 660.] But notice that instead of 274 years as here, Masūdī elsewhere says (*Prairies d'Or*, iv. 106, quoted above) there were 258 years between Zoroaster and Alexander. [= orig. p. 11]

[4] E.g. Dīnkarṭ Bk. 7. 5. 1 (communication from West) and in the Rivāyats.

(e) The period at which the Arabic chronicler Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923)[1] places Zoroaster in his record of Persian reigns, is practically identical with the preceding in its results, although he occasionally differs in the length of the individual reigns, e.g. Bahman 80 years (although he mentions that others say 112 years), Hūmāī about 20 years, Dārā 23 years. He tells also of a tradition that makes of Zoroaster one of the disciples of Jeremiah. The latter, according to the generally accepted view, began to prophesy about B.C. 626. These points will be spoken of again below.

[1] See Zotenberg, *Chronique de Tabari, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Ali Mo'hammed Bel'ami*, tome i. 491–508, Paris, 1867.

(f) The Dabistān (translated by Shea and Troyer, i. 306–309) narrates that the holy cypress which Zoroaster had planted at Kishmar in Khorassān [I formerly wrongly read Kashmir] and which was cut down by the order of Mutawakkal, tenth khalif of the Abbassides (reigned A.D. 846–860), had stood 'fourteen hundred and fifty years (1450) from the time of its being planted, to the year 232 of

the Hejirah (A.D. 846).' If these years be reckoned as solar years, according to the custom of the ancient Persians, and counted from the beginning of Mutawakkal's reign, the date of the planting of the cypress would be B.C. 604; but if reckoned according to the lunar calendar of the Mohammedans (i.e. equivalent to 1408 solar years), the epoch would be B.C. 562.[1] The former date (B.C. 604) recalls the reckoning of Masūdī alluded to above, on p. 10 [= p. 162]. The event of the planting must have been an occasion of special moment; from a reference to the same in Firdausī (translation by Mohl, iv. 291–293, Paris, 1877), the conversion of Vishtāspa is perhaps alluded to. If the conversion of Vishtāspa really be alluded to, 42 years must be added to give the approximate date of Zoroaster's birth. Perhaps, however, some other event in the prophet's life is commemorated.[2] In any case the results lead us to the latter part of the seventh century B.C. and the first part of the sixth century. [See now above, p. 80.]

[1] See the calculation [of Anquetil du Perron, in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1. pp. 346–347, and] of Shea and Troyer, *Dabistān*, [= orig. p. 12] *translated*, i. 308, n., Paris, 1843 and Mirkhond's *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, transl. Shea, p. 281–282, London, 1832. According to E. Röth, 'Zoroastrische Glaubenslehre' in *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 350, the era of the cypress is B.C. 560. This is adopted by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 15, 18 (Leipzig, 1881). [On Kishmar consult also Vullers, *Fragmente*, p. 113].

[2] In case the 1450 years be reckoned back from the date of Mutawakkal's death (A.D. 860) instead of from the beginning of his power, the numbers would be respectively B.C. 590 (if solar), or B.C. 548 (if lunar).

(g) The figures of the chapter-headings in the *Shāh Nāmah* of Firdausī (A.D. 940–1020) likewise place the opening of Vishtāspa's reign at about three hundred years before Alexander's death.[1]

[1] Firdusii *Schahname*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1495 seq. See also Shea and Troyer's *Dabistān*, Introd. i. p. lxxxvi and p. 380. Consult the chapter-headings of the reigns in Mohl's translation of Firdausī, vols. iv.–v. Observe that Bahman is assigned only 99 years instead of the usual 112; the duration of Vishtāspa's reign is given in Mohl, vol. iv. 587, 'cent vingt ans' in harmony with the usual tradition.

(h) The Persian historical work, Mujmal al-Tawārīkh (A.H. 520 = A.D. 1126),[1] following the authority of the Chronicle of the Kings of Persia, brought from Farsistān by Bahram, son of Merdanshāh,

Mobed of Shapur, enumerates 258 years before Alexander.[2] The Ulamā-ī Islām counts three hundred.[3]

[1] See *Extraits du Modjmel al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse, traduits du persan, par Jules Mohl* (Journal Asiatique, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841).

[2] Cf. op. cit. p. 230. The author acknowledges indebtedness also to Hamzah of Isfahān, Ṭabarī, and Firdausī. His chronology may be deduced from pp. 330–339 of the work cited; it runs, Lohrāsp 120 years, Gushtāsp 120 years, Bahman 112, Hūmāī 30, Dārāh 12 [or 14], Dārā son of Dārāb 14 [or 16], Alexander 14 [or 28]. Observe the alternative figures in the case of the last three numbers.

According to Röth, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, i. 351, the author of the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh places Zoroaster 1700 years before his own time; on this ground Röth places the death of Zoroaster at B.C. 522, and is followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18. Cf. Kleuker's *Zend-Avesta*, Anh. Bd. i. Theil 1, p. 347.

[3] See Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 58.

(i) Interesting is the fact noticed by Anquetil du Perron,[1] that a certain religious sect that immigrated into China A.D. 600 is evidently of Zoroastrian origin and that these believers have an era which dates approximately from B.C. 559; this date Anquetil regards as referring to the time when Zoroaster left his home and entered upon his mission — a sort of Iranian Hejirah.

[1] See Anquetil du Perron quoted by Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 349–351; cited also by Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, p. 282, and by Röth in *Geschichte abendländ. Philosophie*, i. 353 and note 566, and followed by Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18.

(j) Similar in effect as far as concerns the period at which they place the prophet, although of doubtful value or otherwise to be explained, are those Syriac and Arabic [= orig. p. 13] reports which connect the name of Zoroaster with Jeremiah and which make him the latter's pupil or even identify him with Baruch the scribe of Jeremiah.[1] Presumably this association is due to confusing the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah *Armiah* with Zoroaster's supposed native place *Urmiah* (Urumiyah).[2]

[1] (a) The Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar Bahlūl (about A.D. 963) s.v. Ḳāsōmā (divinator): 'Divinator, like Zardosht, who people say is Baruch the Scribe; and because the gift of prophecy was not accorded to him he went astray, journeyed to [other] nations and learned twelve tongues.' Cf. Payne-Smith, *Thesaurus Syriacus*, col. 3704.

(β) Also Bishop 'Ishōdad of Ḥadatha (about A.D. 852), commentary on Matth. ii. 1, 'Some say that he (Zoroaster) is the same as Baruch the pupil of Eramya (Jeremiah), and that because the gift of prophecy was denied him as [had been] his wish, and because of that bitter exile and the sack of Jerusalem and the Temple, he became offended (or angry) and went away among other nations, learned twelve languages, and in them wrote that vomit of Satan, i.e. the book which is called Abhasta.' Cf. Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 29.

(γ) Identically, Solomon of Ḥilāṭ (born about A.D. 1222), *Book of the Bee*, 'this Zārādosht is Baruch the scribe,' p. 81 seq., ed. Budge (Anecdota Oxoniensia), also E. Kuhn, *Eine zoroastrische Prophezeiung in christlichem Gewande* (Festgruss an R. von Roth, Stuttgart, 1893, p. 219). Consult especially Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894).

(δ) Ṭabarī (died A.D. 923) likewise notices the association of Zoroaster with Jeremiah. According to him 'Zoroaster was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite. But he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore God cursed him, and he became leprous. He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp (Vishtāspa), who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him, and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many people to death on its account. Then they followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve (112) years.' Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. See also *Chronique de Tabari traduite* par H. Zotenberg, i. p. 499. [In the story of the leprosy can there be some reminiscence of Elisha's servant Gehazi, who was cursed with leprosy for falsehood after the cleansing of Naaman? See II. Kings, v. 1–27 and compare *sara'ath*, p. 30 above, and Hyde, p. 314.]

(ε) The same general statements of Ṭabarī are repeated by Ibn al-Athīr (13th century) in his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arīkh*. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 39.

(ζ) Once the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250) calls Zoroaster a disciple of Elijah (mistake for Jeremiah?), see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

(η) Similarly the Arab historian Abu Mohammed Mustapha calls Zoroaster a disciple of Ezīr (Ezra), see Hyde, *Hist. Relig. veterum Persarum*, p. 313.

[2] So suggested by de Sacy, *Notices et Extraits des Manuscrits de la Bibl. du Roi*, ii. 319, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (Drisler Classical Studies, p. 30 n.). [Anquetil du Perron's view was, that this is owing to an unwillingness to attribute to the Persians a prophet of their own, without Semitic influence; see his paragraph in Kleuker, *Anh. zum ZA.* i. Thl. 1, p. 341. This is no doubt also true. See likewise p. 30 above.]

(k) Pointing to a similar era are the Pahlavi (Dīnkarṭ Bk. 5. and Mkh.) and Perso-Arabic allusions to Nebuchadnezzar as lieutenant

of Vishtāsp's predecessor, Lohrāsp, and of Vishtāsp himself as well as of his successor Bahman (Vohūman). [See also above, p. 91, n. 2.] In the same connection Cyrus's name is joined with Vishtāsp and Bahman.[1]

[1] (α) According to Ṭabarī (10th century A.D.) and Masūdī, [= orig. p. 14] Nebuchadnezzar was lieutenant successively under Lohrāsp, Vishtāsp, and Bahman ; the tradition regarding Lohrāsp's taking of Jerusalem is found in the Pahlavi Dīnkarṭ Bk. 5 and Maīnōg-ī Khiraṭ 27. 66–67, transl. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 65. Ṭabarī (or rather the Persian version of the latter by Bel'ami) gives two different versions of the story (see *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane de Bel'amī par H. Zotenberg*, vol. i. pp. 491–507, Paris, 1867), and (Ṭabarī op. cit. p. 503) the return of the Jews to Jerusalem is placed in the 70th year of Bahman. Signs of confusion are evident. So also in Mirkhond (15th century A.D.) who in his history repeats Ṭabarī's statement with reference to Nebuchadnezzar and Lohrāsp, and makes Cyrus a son of Lohrāsp although he is placed in the reign of Bahman. He regards Bahman (Vohūman) as a contemporary of Hippocrates (B.C. 460–357) and Zenocrates (B.C. 396–314) which would harmonize properly with the traditional dates above given (pp. 8–9 = pp. 159–160) for Bahman's reign. See Shea, *Mirkhond's History*, pp, 264, 291, 343).

(β) Masūdī is worth consulting on the same point, especially in respect to certain presumed relations between the Persians and the Jews. See Barbier de Meynard, *Maçoudi Les Prairies d' Or*, ii. 119–128.

(1) At this point may be mentioned two other allusions that place Zoroaster's activity in the sixth century before the Christian era, although the former of these rests upon the identification of the prophet's patron Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. The first of these allusions, that given by Ammianus Marcellinus (5th century A.D.),[1] directly calls Vishtāspa (Hystaspes) the father of Darius, although Agathias (6th century A.D.)[2] expresses uncertainty on this point. The second allusion is found in Eutychius, the Alexandrine Patriarch, who makes Zoroaster a contemporary of Cambyses and the Magian Smerdis,[3] a view which is shared by the Syrian Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā Abulfaraj (c. A.D. 1250)[4] [and by the Arab chronologist al-Makīn[5]].

[1] Ammian. Marcell. 23. 6. 32, *Magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato, Machagistiam esse verbo mystico docet, divinorum incorruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darii pater.* The general opinion is that 'saeculis priscis' is allowable in consideration of the thousand years that separated Zoroaster and Ammianus,

and assuming that Ammianus understood Zoroaster and Hystaspes to be contemporaries, cf. Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, p. 334.

[2] Agathias 2. 24, Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως . . . οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωροάδος, ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασε τὴν ἀρχὴν, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι, καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. [See Appendix V. § 35.]

[3] Eutychii Patriarchae Alexandrini *Annales*. Illustr. Selden, interpr. E. Pocock. Oxon. 1658, pp. 262–263, *Mortuo Cyro Dario Babelis rege, post ipsum imperavit filius ipsius Kambysus annos novem: post quem Samardius Magus annum unum. Hic, Magus cognominatus est quod ipsius tempore floruerit Persa quidam Zaradasht* (زرادشت), *qui Magorum religionem condidit aedibus igni dedicatus. Post ipsum regnavit Dara primus, annos viginti. Post illum Artachshast Longimanus cognominatus annos viginti quattuor.* On this authority Floigl, following Röth, wishes to assign the year of Zoroaster's death to B.C. 522, cf. *Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18, and Röth, *Geschichte uns. abendländ. Philosophie* i. 353.

[4] Bar 'Ebhrāyā, *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83, ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890 (cited by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32). 'In those days (of Cambyses) came Zaradosht chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's (!) disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ.'

[5] See Hyde *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 528–529.]

(m) Finally two other allusions are here added for the sake of completeness, as they have been interpreted as pointing to the fact that Zoroaster lived about the sixth century B.C. There seems to be nothing in them, however, to compel us to believe that Zoroaster is regarded as living only a short time before the events to which they allude. The first is a passage in Nicolaus Damascenus (1st century B.C.), who represents that when Cyrus was about to burn the unfortunate Croesus, his attention was called to Ζωροάστρου λόγια, which forbade that fire should be defiled.[1] The second item of information is found in such references as represent Pythagoras as following Zoroaster's doctrines.[2] Lastly, the association of Zoroaster's name with that of Thales, by Albīrūnī, has been noted above.[3]

[1] Nicolaus Damascenus Fragm. 65, *Müller Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 409 δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτε, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ τά τε Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν. . . . Τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι. (Latin version) *Persas . . . religio ac metus divûm incessit: Sibyllae quoque vaticinia ac Zoroastris oracula in mentem veniebant. Itaque clamitabant, multo, quam antea,*

contentius, ut Croesus servaretur. . . . At Persae exinde sanxerunt juxta praecepta Zoroastris, ne cadavera cremare neque ignem contaminare posthac liceret, quod quum apud eos ex veteri instituto obtinuisset, tum magis confirmaverunt. Cf. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. xliv, lxvii.

[2] The principal references are to be found in Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–264, 274, from whose work they are taken. Several of these allusions mention Zoroaster's name directly; in others we may infer it, since Pythagoras is made a student of the Magi, whom classical antiquity regards as the exponents of Zoroaster's teaching. Such allusions are: (*α*) Cicero, *de Fin.* 5. 29, *ipse Pythagoras et Aegyptum lustravit et Persarum Magos adiit;* (*β*) Valerius Maximus 8. 7 extern. 2, *inde ad Persas profectus Magorum exactissimae prudentiae se formandum tradidit;* (*γ*) Pliny, *N. H.* 30. 2. 1, *Pythagoras, Empedocles, Democritus, Plato ad hanc (magicen) discendam navigavere;* (*δ*) Porphyrius, *Vita Pythag.* 41, ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ, ὡς παρὰ τῶν Μάγων ἐπυνθάνετο, ὃν Ὡρομάζην καλοῦσιν ἐκεῖνοι; and *Vita Pythag.* 12, ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον [Ζάρατον, Nauck] (Zoroaster?) ἀφίκετο; (*ε*) Plutarch, *de animae procr. in Timaeo* 2. 2, Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος; (*ζ*) Clemens Alexandrinus, *Stromata*, 1, p. 357 (ed. Potter) Ζωροάστρην δὲ τὸν Μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐζήλωσεν (MS. ἐδήλωσεν), cf. Cyrillus, *adv. Jul.* 3, p. 87, where Pythagoras is called πανάριστος ζηλωτής of Zoroaster; (*η*) Suidas s.v. Pythagoras, Πυθαγόρας· οὗτος ἦκουσε — Ζάρητος τοῦ μάγου (is it Zoroaster?); (*θ*) Apuleius Florid. p. 19 (ed. Altih.) *sunt qui Pythagoram aiunt eo temporis inter captivos Cambysae regis Aegyptum cum adveheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastrem omnis divini arcani antistitem;* (*ι*) in Lucian's *Dialogue Menippus*, § 6, p. 463, the Babylonian Magi are the pupils and successors of Zoroaster μοὶ . . . ἔδοξε ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν Μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων. Also some others.

[3] See p. 161 above. The particular passage is one in which Albīrūnī discusses the various possibilities as to the date of Thales. He adds that 'if he (i.e. Thales) lived at the time of Kaī Ḳubādh, he stands near to Zoroaster, who belonged to the sect of the Ḥarrānians' (*Chron.* p. 32, l. 15, transl. Sachau).]

B. Discussion of the Data.

The material above collected presents most of the [= orig. p. 16] external evidence that we have in regard to the age at which Zoroaster lived. We are now prepared for a more comprehensive view of the subject, for a discussion of the data in hand, for a presentation of certain internal evidences that need to be brought out, and for arguments and possible deductions. Several points immediately suggest themselves for comment.

First, in discussing the classical allusions above presented, one is justified from the connection in assuming that such allusions as are

made to the name of Zoroaster as a religious teacher or sage, all refer to the one great prophet of ancient Iran. No account, I think, need therefore be taken of such views as assume the existence of two or of several Zoroasters, belonging to different periods in the world's history. Such a view was held by Suidas (s.v. *Zoroastres*) and was evidently earlier shared by Pliny;[1] it met with acceptance also among some of the old-fashioned writers in more recent times;[2] but there is no real evidence in its favor, and it is due to an attempt to adjust the discrepancy existing in classical statements with regard to Zoroaster's date. History knows of but one Zoroaster.

[1] Pliny *N. H.* 30. 2. 1. *sine dubio illic orta (ars Magica) in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius, non satis constat.* He adds a little later (30. 2. 8) *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (i.e. *Osthanem*) *Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.*

[2] E.g. Kleuker (quoting the Abbé Foucher), *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 2, p. 68–81.

Second, among the three dates which may be deduced from the material above collected and which are summarized on p. 2 [= p. 152], we are justified upon reasonable grounds, I think, in rejecting the excessively early date of B.C. 6000 or thereabouts. The explanation above offered to account for the extravagant figures seems satisfactory enough.

Third, such dates as might be arrived at from the sporadic allusions that associate the name of Zoroaster with Semiramis and Ninus, with Nimrod and Abraham, or with Baal, Bel, Balaam, as above discussed, have little if any real foundation. In each instance there seem to me to be reasonable grounds for discarding them.

There remains finally a comparatively large body of material that would point to the fact that Zoroaster flourished between the latter part of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century before the Christian era. The material when sifted reduces itself: first, to the direct tradition found in two Pahlavi books, Būndahishn and Arṭā Vīrāf, which places Zoroaster's era three hundred years, or more exactly 258 years, before Alexander's day; second, to the Arabic allusions which give the same date in their [= orig. p. 17] chronological computations and which in part lay claim to being founded upon the chronology of the Persians themselves;[1] third, to similar allusions elsewhere which place Zoroaster at about this period.

[1] Compare Albīrūnī, *Chronology of Ancient Nations*, p. 109, 112 (transl. Sachau); and the *Modjmel al-Tewarikh*, p. 142, 320, 330 (traduit Mohl, Journal Asiatique, xi. 1841), stating that the account is based on the Chronicle of Mohed Bahram.

Certain objections may be raised to a view based upon this material last given.

First among these objections is a claim often urged, that the traditional date rests upon an erroneous identification of Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. I cannot see, from the allusions or elsewhere, that the Persians made any such identification; the impression gained from the material presented is rather in fact to the contrary; one may recall, for example, how widely different the ancestry of Vishtāspa is from the generally received descent of Hystaspes the father of Darius (a point which Floigl and Röth seem to have overlooked). It was only the classical writer Ammianus Marcellinus who, in antiquity, made any such identification. The point has already been sufficiently dealt with above, p. 14 [= p. 167, and West now also treats it in like manner —*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70].

A second objection may be brought on the plea that the traditional date (7th to middle of 6th century B.C.) would not allow of the lapse of sufficient time to account for the difference in language between the Gāthās and the Old Persian inscriptions and for certain apparent developments in the faith. Furthermore, that a longer period of time must be allowed to account for the difference between the fixed title *Auramazda*, Ὡρομάσδης, current in western Persia in Achaemenian times, and the divided form of the divine name *Ahura Mazda* (or *Ahura* alone and *Mazda* alone) as found in the Avesta, especially in the Zoroastrian Gāthās. This point has been noticed in the interesting and instructive paper of Professor Tiele, *Over de Oudheid van het Avesta*, p. 16,[1] who comes to the result that Zoroastrianism must have existed as early as the first half of the 7th century B.C.[2] If we accept, as I believe we should, the theses that Vishtāspa ruled in eastern Iran, and that, although Zoroaster was a native of Ādarbaijān, the chief scene of his religious activity was eastern Iran,[3] and that the faith spread from Bactria westwards,[4] I cannot see that these arguments militate against the traditional date under discussion. Dialectic differences between the Bactrian region and Persia Proper would sufficiently account for arguments based on language alone. This, added to national and

individual differences, might well account for the fixed form of the name *Auramazda* among the Achaemenians as contrasted with the Avestan form. Who can say how rapidly the creed spread from the east to the west and what changes consequently in a short time may have resulted? New converts in their zeal are often more radical in progressive changes than first reformers. Per-
[= orig. p. 18] sis, with its original difference in dialect, may in short time have developed the single title *Auramazda* from *Ahura Mazda* as watchword of church and state. See also note, p. 20, top [= p. 174].

[1] Reprinted from the *Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen, Afdeeling Letterkunde*, 3de Reeks, Deel xi. 364–385.

[2] Tiele's little work argues admirably for the antiquity of the Avesta as opposed to Darmesteter's views for the lateness of the Gāthās. I wish I could be convinced by Professor Tiele (p. 19) that the names of the Median kings, Phraortes (*fravaši*), Kyaxares (*uvaxšatara*), Deiokes (**dahyuka*) as well as Eparna, Sitiparna of the early Esarhaddon inscription (explained as containing *hvarənah*, 'glory'), are due to concepts originated by Zoroaster and are not merely marks of beliefs which Zoroastrianism inherited directly from existing Magism. The name of Darius's contemporary Khsathrita (Bh. 2. 15; 4. 19, Bh. e. 6) is not so important for the argument. I confess I should like to place Zoroaster as early as the beginning of the 7th century. The earlier, the better. [On Phraortes viewed as a Zoroastrian, compare more recently, Justi, in *Preuss. Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 258; *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. p. 411.]

[3] On eastern Iran, cf. Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur* (Erlangen, 1882) and English translation of same, Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Eastern Iranians* (London, 1885–1886).

[4] See Jackson, *Zoroaster's Native Place*, *JAOS.* xv. 230 seq. So in spite of Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 198 seq.

A final objection may be raised as to the real historic worth and chronological value of the Persian tradition which places Zoroaster three centuries before Alexander. This it must frankly be said is the real point of the question. Is there a possibility of Arabic influence at work upon the statements of the Būndahishn and Arṭā Vīrāf [and Zāṭ-sparam]? Is the whole chronology of the Būndahishn and that of the Persians artificial?[1] And did the Zoroastrians intentionally tamper with history and bring Zoroaster down as late as possible in order that the millennial period might not be regarded as having elapsed without the appearance of a Saoshyant, or Messiah?

[1] Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 506, with Windischmann, regards the data of the Būndahishn as 'unzuverlässig,' but it must be remembered that his figures, '178' years for the period between Zoroaster and Alexander, now require correction to 258, which alters the condition of affairs. See West, *SBE.* v. 150–151, and Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 203. Compare especially de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. p. ccxxviii.

These questions require serious consideration in detail. The introduction to the chronological chapter of the Būndahishn (Bd. 34) does indeed read, according to one MS., 'on the reckoning of the years of the Arabs' (see Būndahishn translated by West, *SBE.* v. 149), but the word Tāzhīkān 'of the Arabs' is not found in the other manuscripts. Moreover, the scientific investigator Albīrūnī, and also the Mujmal al-Tawārīkh, whose data agree exactly with the Būndahishn, affirm that the dates given for the Kayanian kings are obtained from the records of the Persians themselves.[1]

There seems no reason, therefore, to doubt that the [= orig. p. 19] Būndahishn really represents the Persian chronology.

But what the value of that chronology may be, is another matter. Personally I think it has real value so far as giving the approximate period of three centuries before Alexander as Zoroaster's era. Every student of the classics knows the part that chronology plays with reference to the Magi; every reader of the Avesta is familiar with 'the time of long duration;' every one who has looked into the scholarly work of Albīrūnī will have more respect for Persian chronology. Errors indeed there may be; attention has been called above to the lack of agreement between the years assigned by tradition to the reigns of the Zoroastrian Kayanian monarchs and the generally accepted dates of the reigns of Cyrus, Darius, and Xerxes[1]; to the dynasty of these three kings there corresponds only the long rule of Vishtāspa (120 years) and a part of that of Bahman Ardashīr Dirāzdast, some of whose reign answers to that of Artaxerxes Longimanus. As above said, it is difficult to identify the Kayanians of the tradition with the early Achaemenians of Greek history, but this need not nullify the real value of the traditional 'three centuries before Alexander.' What Masūdī (c. A.D. 943) in his *Indicatio et Admonitio* can add on this subject is full of interest. Little attention seems thus far to have been drawn to this important passage and to the explanation which it contains.[2] Masūdī is fully aware of the difference that exists between the Persian and the generally accepted chronology and he shows how it was brought about by

Ardashīr's purposely shortening the period between Alexander and himself by causing about half the number of years to be dropped from the chronological lists, but the 300 years of Zoroaster before Alexander were allowed to remain untouched, for the old prophecy regarding the time of Alexander's appearance had been fulfilled. The passage in Barbier de Meynard is well worth consulting.[3]

[1] See note above, p. 8 [= p. 160].

[2] Cf. Barbier de Meynard in *Le Livre de l'Indication et de l'Admonition* (Maçoudī, *Prairies d'Or*, ix. 327–328). [See also the translation by Vaux, *Maçoudi, Le Livre de l'Avertissement*, p. 136; Paris, 1896.]

[3] See preceding note. I have since found the passage given by Spiegel in *Eran. Alterthumskunde*, iii. 193; compare also Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 202.

C. Results.

To draw conclusions, — although open to certain objections, still, in the absence of any more reliable data or until the discovery of some new source of information to overthrow or to substantiate the view, there seems but one decision to make in the case before us. From the actual evidence presented and from the material accessible, one is fairly entitled, at least, upon the present merits of the case, to accept the period between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C. [perhaps still better, between the middle of the seventh century and the first half of the sixth century B.C.], or just before the rise of the Achaemenian power, as the approximate date of Zoroaster's life.[1]

[= orig. p. 20] [1] Since the above was written Dr. E. W. West writes me (under date December 19, 1895) the interesting piece of information that his investigations into the history of the Iranian calendar have led him to the date B.C. 505 as the year in which a reform in the Persian calendar must have been instituted. He suggests that Darius, upon the conclusion of his wars and during the organizing of his kingdom and putting in force new acts of legislation, may with the aid and counsel of his priestly advisers have introduced the Zoroastrian names of the months which have supplanted the old Persian names which were given in the inscriptions. If this be so, the point may have a special bearing towards showing that the Achaemenians were Zoroastrians. From Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, pp. 17, 12; 55, 29; 205, 2; and 220, 19 (transl. Sachau), we know that Zoroaster himself must have occupied himself with the calendar. Benfey u. Stern, *Ueber die Monatsnamen einiger alter Völker*, p. 116, regarded the Medo-Persian year as having been introduced into Cappadocia probably

as early as B.C. 750. [Dr. West's paper on the Parsi calendar has just appeared in *The Academy* for April 23, 1896.] [Later postscript (1898), West gives his results in *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 79 seq.]

Similar results have been reached by others, or opinions to the same effect have been expressed; for example, Haug,[1] Justi (private letter),[2] Geldner (personal communication),[3] Casartelli,[4] and several names familiar to those acquainted with the field.[5] Some effort might be made perhaps if the premises will allow it, and some attempts have been made, to define the period more exactly by a precise interpretation of the various time-allusions with reference to cardinal events in Zoroaster's life — the beginning of his ministry at the age of 30, the conversion of Vishtāspa in the prophet's 42d year, the death of Zoroaster at the age of 77 years.[6] [See Appendix III.]

[1] Cf. Haug, *Essays on the Parsis* (West's Introduction, p. xlv.); although Haug had previously adopted various earlier eras for Zoroaster, e.g. B.C. 2300 (*Lecture on Zoroaster*, Bombay, 1865), not later than B.C. 1000 (*Essays*, p. 299, where the subject is discussed; cf. also *Essays*, pp. 15, 136, 264).

[2] Personal letter from Professor Justi, dated June 14, 1892.

[3] Geldner formerly placed the date of Zoroaster as prior to B.C. 1000 (see article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 9th edition).

[4] *Philosophy of the Mazdayasnian Religion under the Sassanids*, transl. Firoz Jamaspji, p. ii, 'about 600.'

[5] The best collections of material on the subject are to be found in de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, 2d ed. Introduction, pp. xx–xxv, ccxiv. [See also de Harlez, *The Age of the Avesta*, in *JAOS.*, New Series, xvii. 349, London, 1885, who finds no reason to place the Avesta earlier than 600 or 700 B.C., or in broader terms fixes 'the epoch of Zoroastrianism and the Avesta between 700 and 100 B.C.'], Spiegel, *EA.* i. 673–676, and Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 147, 162, 305; the latter suggested (*Zor. Stud.* p. 164) about B.C. 1000 as Zoroaster's date. The present writer (*Avesta Grammar*, p. xi) once held the opinion that Zoroaster lived 'more than a thousand years before the Christian era.' The date assigned by the Parsi Orientalist K. R. Kama is about B.C. 1300.

[6] E.g. Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, i. Pt. 2, p. 6, 60–62, assigns B.C. 589–512 as the age of Zoroaster; compare also Kleuker, *Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, Bd. i. Thl. 1, pp. 327–374; Thl. 2, pp. 51–81 (Foucher). [Anquetil's monograph should be consulted.] Floigl (*Cyrus und Herodot*, p. 18), following Röth, gives B.C. 599–522 as Zoroaster's era and identifies Vishtāspa with Hystaspes the father of Darius. Neither Floigl nor Röth seem to take any account of the difference between the genealogy of Vishtāspa's ancestors as given in the Old Persian inscriptions and the lineage given in the Avesta, Pahlavi, and later Persian works. Floigl does not, moreover, sufficiently take into consideration (p. 17) that 42 years (or at least 30) must be

added in every instance to the 258 years before Alexander, as that was Zoroaster's age when Vishtāspa accepted the Faith. This would in any event place the date of Zoroaster's birth before B.C. 600.

[= orig. p. 21] The above results, if they be accepted in the light at least of our present information on the subject, seem to be not without importance for the history of early religious thought and of the development of ethical and moral teaching. If one carefully works through the material, it must be acknowledged that the most consistent and the most authoritative of all the actual statements upon the subject place the appearance of the prophet at a period between the closing century of Median rule and the rising wave of Persian power, that is, between the latter half of the seventh century and the middle of the sixth century B.C.; [better between the middle of the seventh century and the former half of the sixth century B.C.]. It is the sowing of the fallow land that is to bring forth the rich fruits of the harvest. The teaching of Zoroaster must have taken deep root in the soil of Iran at the time when the Jews were carried up into captivity at Babylon (586–536), where they became acquainted with 'the law of the Medes and Persians which altereth not'; the time was not far remote when the sage Confucius should expound to China the national tenets of its people, and the gentle Buddha on Ganges' bank should preach to longing souls the doctrine of redemption through renunciation. How interesting the picture, how full of instruction the contrast! And in this connection, the old question of a possible pre-historic Indo-Iranian religious schism[1] comes perhaps once again into consideration.[2] Certain theological and religious phenomena noticeable in Brahmanism are possibly not so early, after all, as has generally been believed. It may perchance be that Zoroastrianism in Iran was but the religious, social, and ethical culmination of the wave that had been gathering in strength as it moved along, and that was destined in India to spend its breaking force in a different way from its overwhelming course in the plateau land northwest of the mountains of Hindu Kush.

[1] The view strongly upheld by Haug.

[2] Deductions that might perhaps be made in the light of Hopkins, *Religions of India*, pp. 177, 186, 212, n. 3. Consult especially the suggestive hints of Geldner, article 'Zoroaster,' *Encyclopædia Britannica*, where the much-mooted question of *asura-ahura, daēva-deva*, 'god-demon,' is discussed.

The kingdom of Bactria was the scene of Zoroaster's zealous ministry, as I presume. [The question raised on this point is noticed in the present volume.] Born, as I believe, in Atropatene, to the west of Media, this prophet without honor in his own country met with a congenial soil for the seeds of his teaching in eastern Iran. His ringing voice of reform and of a nobler faith found an answering echo in the heart of the Bactrian king, Vishtāspa, whose strong arm gave necessary support to the crusade that spread the new faith west and east throughout the land of Iran. Allusions to this crusade are not uncommon in Zoroastrian literature. Its advance must have been rapid. A fierce religious war which in a way was fatal to Bactria seems to have ensued with Turan. This was that same savage race in history at whose door the death of victorious Cyrus is laid. Although tradition tells the sad story that the fire of the sacred altar was quenched [= orig. p. 22] in the blood of the priests when Turan stormed Balkh, this momentary defeat was but the gathering force of victory; triumph was at hand. The spiritual spark of regeneration lingered among the embers and was destined soon to burst into the flame of Persian power that swept over decaying Media and formed the beacon-torch that lighted up the land of Iran in early history. But the history of the newly established creed and certain problems in regard to the early Achaemenians as Zoroastrians belong elsewhere for discussion.

[Addendum 1. In an article on 'The Date of the Avesta,' *The Times of India*, March 11, 1898, now draws attention to the fact that Darab Dastur Peshotan Sanjana has again called up the proposed identification of Avestan Nāidhyāh Gaotema (in Yt. 13. 16) with the *rishi* Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās in the Veda. See this pamphlet *Observations on Darmesteter's Theory*, pp. 25–31, Leipzig, 1898. On his point and on the other suggested identifications of the Avestan Gaotema with Gotama the Buddha, or with the Brahman Cangranghācah (see pp. 85–88 above), we may refer to what has been said by Windischmann, *Mithra*, p. 29, and to the references and discussion given by Justi, *Handbuch der Zendsprache*, p. 99 (Leipzig, 1864), where good material will be found. Justi's statement in his *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 110 (Marburg, 1895) reads: 'Gaotema, vielleicht Name eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion Yt. 13. 16; das Wort könnte auch appellativ sein; saṇskrit gótama.'

In the passage I do not think that the words *nā vyāxanō* necessarily refer to Zoroaster at all, but that they allude to some later follower of the Faith who may have vanquished in debate some opponent of the Zoroastrian creed. Notice also Justi's 'eines Gegners der Zarathustrischen Religion.' I cannot therefore see that we shall lose anything if we accept the view which was first suggested

by Haug, and interpret this allusion to Gaotama as a thrust at Buddhism, and regard *nāiδyāh* as a derogatory attribute, or connected with the Vedic root *nādh*.

Color is given to such an interpretation because, farther on in the same Yasht (Yt. 13. 97), mention is made of the pious Saēna, a great religious teacher and successor of Zoroaster, who flourished between one hundred and two hundred years after the prophet himself, or B.C. 531–431, if we accept the traditional Zoroastrian chronology, and who might therefore have been a contemporary with Buddha. Upon the date of Saēna, see also Jivanji Jamshedji Modi, *The Antiquity of the Avesta*, Bombay, June, 1896. Saēna belonged to the ancient territory of Saka-stāna (Seistān) and thus to the region of White India; cf. p. 45, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, and Appendix IV.

Now if in the particular case of Saēna (and the lines are metrical and therefore probably original) the Yasht actually makes mention of a Zoroastrian apostle who lives a century or more after the great teacher, I do not think we are necessarily forced to place Gaotama back into the Vedic period. In other words, in the case of Gaotema as of Saēna, the Yasht may be alluding to one who is born after Zarathushtra, and may be hurling anathemas against an opposing and heretical religion (and that religion Buddhism) which began to flourish about the same time as the Yasht may have been written. Of the various identifications I should prefer that of Gotama the Buddha, rather than to call in the Vedas and Gāutama whose son is Nōdhās.]

[Addendum 2. My pupil, Mr. Schuyler, draws my attention to a reference in a work that was published in the middle of the last century, which is of interest because it deals with the Huns and places the date of Zoroaster about the year '683 avant Jesus-Christ.' The reference is Deguignes, *Histoire générale des Huns*, i. Pt. 2, p. 376, Paris, 1756.]

APPENDIX III

DR. WEST'S TABLES OF ZOROASTRIAN CHRONOLOGY

AS BASED UPON THE MILLENNIAL SYSTEM OF THE BŪNDAHISHN

(From *Sacred Books of the East*, xlvii. Introd. § 55.)[1]

AFTER investigating the traditional Zoroastrian chronology of the Būndahishn, and the statements of the other Pahlavi texts, which have been recorded in the preceding Appendix, Dr. E. W. West has compiled a series of chronological tables, synchronizing the Zoroastrian and European systems. The statement of Bd. **34**. 7, 8, places the death of Alexander 272 years after the coming of the religion, i.e. after the thirtieth year of Zoroaster's life and of Vishtāspa's reign. Combining these dates, and allowing for an apparent omission of thirty-five years (which is explained), the items 323 + 272 + 35 give as a result B.C. 660–583 as the date of Zoroaster, and B.C. 660–540 for Vishtāspa's reign,[2] which in Oriental manner is apparently conceived of as dating from the king's birth. West's tables are now presented (*SBE.* xlvii. Introd. pp. xxviii–xxx):—

'If we adopt the abbreviations A.R. for "*anno religionis*" and B.R. for "*before the religion*," we are prepared to compile the following synopsis of Zoroastrian Chronology according to the millennial system of the Būndahishn, extended to the end of time, but dealing only with traditional matters, combined with the European dates of the same events, deduced from the synchronism of A.R. 300 with B.C. 331, as stated above in § 54:'—

B.R. 9000, B.C. 9630. Beginning of the first millennium of Time; and formation of the Fravashis, or primary ideas of the good creations, which remain insensible and motionless for 3000 years (Bd. I, 8; XXXIV, 1).

[1] Through the courtesy of Dr. E. W. West and of Professor F. Max Müller, editor of the Sacred Books, I have been allowed to reproduce these pages; for which kindness I wish to express my appreciative thanks. —*A. V. W. J.*

[2] See *SBE.* xlvii. Introd. § 70.

B.R. 6000, B.C. 6630. Beginning of the fourth millennium, when the spiritual body of Zaratūsht is framed together, and remains 3000 years with the archangels (Dk. VII, ii, 15, 16), while the primeval man and ox exist undisturbed in the world, because the evil spirit is confounded and powerless (Bd. I, 20, 22; III, 1, 3, 5; XXXIV, 1).

B.R. 3000, B.C. 3630. Beginning of the seventh millennium, when the evil spirit rushes into the creation on new-year's day, destroys the primeval ox, and distresses Gāyōmarṭ, the primeval man (Bd. I, 20; III, 10–20, 24–27; XXXIV, 2). Z. appears to remain with the archangels for 2969 years longer.

B.R. 2970, B.C. 3600. Gāyōmarṭ passes away (Bd. III, 21–23; XXXIV, 2).

B.R. 2930, B.C. 3560. Masyē and Masyāōī had grown up (Bd. XV, 2; XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2787, B.C. 3417. Accession of Hōshāng (Bd. XXXIV, 3).

B.R. 2747, B.C. 3377. Accession of Tākhmōrup (ibid. 4).

B.R. 2717, B.C. 3347. Accession of Yim (ibid.).

B.R. 2000, B.C. 2630. Beginning of the eighth millennium. Accession of Dahāk (ibid. 4, 5).

B.R. 1000, B.C. 1630. Beginning of the ninth millennium. Accession of Frēṭūn (ibid. 5, 6).

B.R. 500, B.C. 1130. Accession of Mānūshcīhar (ibid. 6).

B.R. 428, B.C. 1058. Spendarmaṭ comes to Mānūshcīhar at the time of Frāsīyāv's irrigation works (Zs. XII, 3–6). [West's brief remarks on correction of the MSS. here omitted.]

B.R. 380, B.C. 1010. Accession of Aūzōbō (Bd. XXXIV, 6).

B.R. 375, B.C. 1005. Accession of Kaī-Kobāṭ (ibid. 6, 7).

B.R. 360, B.C. 990. Accession of Kaī-Ūs (ibid. 7).

B.R. 300, B.C. 930. Zaratūsht first mentioned by the ox that Srītō killed (Zs. XII, 7–20).

B.R. 210, B.C. 840. Accession of Kaī-Khūsrōī (Bd. XXXIV, 7).

B.R. 150, B.C. 780. Accession of Kaī-Lohrāsp (ibid.).

B.R. 45, B.C. 675. The Glory descends from heaven at the birth of Dūkṭak (Zs. XIII, 1).

B.R. 30, B.C. 660. Accession of Kaī-Vishtāsp (Bd. XXXIV, 7). Vohūmanō and Ashavahishtō descend into the world with a stem of Hōm (Dk. VII, ii, 24). Zaratūsht is born (ibid. v, 1).

B.R. 23, B.C. 653. Z. is seven years old when two Karaps visit his father, and Dūrāsrōbō dies (Dk. VII, iii, 32, 34, 45).

B.R. 15, B.C. 645. Z. is fifteen years old when he and his four brothers ask for their shares of the family property (Zs. XX, 1).

B.R. 10, B.C. 640. Z. leaves home at the age of twenty (ibid. 7).

A.R. 1, B.C. 630. Beginning of the tenth millennium. Z. goes forth to his conference with the sacred beings on the 45th day of the 31st year of Vishtāsp's reign (Dk. VII, iii, 51–62; VIII, 51; Zs. XXI, 1–4).

A.R. 3, B.C. 628. Z. returns from his first conference in two years, and preaches to Aūrvāitā-dang and the Karaps without success (Dk. VII, iv, 2–20).

A.R. 11, B.C. 620. After his seventh conference, in the tenth year he goes to

Vishtāsp; Mēṯyōmāh is also converted (ibid. 1, 65; Zs. XXI, 3; XXIII, 1, 2, 8).

A.R. 13, B.C. 618. Twelve years after Z. went to conference, Vishtāsp accepts the religion, though hindered for two years by the Karaps (Dk. VII, v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 5, 7).

A.R. 20, B.C. 611. A Kavīg, son of Kūndah, is converted (Zs. XXIII, 8).

A.R. 30, B.C. 601. Defeat of Arjāsp and his Khyōns (ibid).

A.R. 40, B.C. 591. Vohūnēm is born (ibid.). About this time the Avesta is written by Jāmāsp from the teaching of Z. (Dk. IV, 21; V, iii, 4; VII, v. 11). [Compare also Dk. III. vii, 1, *SBE.* xxxvii. 406.]

A.R. 48, B.C. 583. Z. passes away, or is killed, aged seventy-seven years and forty days, on the 41st day of the year (Dk. V. iii, 2; VII. v, 1; Zs. XXIII, 9).

A.R. 58, B.C. 573. Arrival of the religion is known in all regions (Dk. VII, vi, 12). [Compare also Dk. IV, 21-22, *SBE.* xxxvii. 412–413.]

A.R. 63, B.C. 568. Frashōshtār passes away (Zs. XXIII, 10).

A.R. 64, B.C. 567. Jāmāsp passes away (ibid.)

A.R. 63, B.C. 558. Hangāūrūsh, son of Jāmāsp, passes away (ibid.).

A.R. 80, B.C. 551. Asmōk-khanvatō passes away, and Akht the wizard is killed (ibid.).

A.R. 91, B.C. 540. Accession of Vohūman, son of Spend-dāṯ (Bd. XXXIV, 7, 8).

A.R. 100, B.C. 531. Sēnō is born (Dk. VII, vii, 6).

A.R. 200, B.C. 431. Sēnō passes away (ibid.; Zs. XXIII, 11).

A.R. 203. B.C. 428. Accession of Hūmāī (Bd. XXXIV, 8).

[Some additional dates are given by Dr. West, which include the invasion of Alexander (A.R. 300 = B.C. 331) and his death (A.R. 308 = B.C. 323), and carry the chronology down to the final millennium of the world (A.R. 3028, A.D. 2398).]

APPENDIX IV

ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE AND THE SCENE OF HIS MINISTRY

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INTRODUCTION[1]

With regard to the native place of the founders of three of the great Oriental religions — Buddhism, Confucianism, Mohammedanism — the authorities are in agreement for the most part, and the recent discoveries with reference to Buddha's birthplace have rendered assurance doubly sure at least in his case. With respect to Zoroaster's native land, however, and with regard to the exact early home of Zoroastrianism, the case is different. In classic times

[1] [The question with regard to Zoroaster's native place has been examined by the present writer in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232. Some of the material which was briefly presented at that time is reproduced here, but it has been largely augmented and rewritten, and the subject is now treated entirely anew, especially with regard to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry.]

seven cities claimed a share in the honor of being the birthplace of the poet Homer; hardly less can be said of the prophet Zoroaster, if we take into account the various opinions which have been held on the subject of his origin. The question is one of interest, for with this problem there is also closely connected the question as to where we shall place the cradle of the religion of Mazda.

The natural uncertainty as to whether a religious teacher's birthplace or early home is necessarily identical with the scene of his religious activity complicates the problem considerably. Manifestly it is fallacious to assume that the scene of Zoroaster's ministry must likewise of necessity have been his place of origin. This fact must be kept in mind when we examine the arguments that have been brought forward by some to prove that the east of Iran, or Bactria, must assuredly have been the original home of Zoroaster as well as the scene of the reform work of the so-called 'Bactrian Sage.' The same fact, on the other hand, must be kept equally in view when the claim is made that Zoroaster came from western Iran, whether from Atropatene or from Media Proper, or from Persia. In the present memoir an endeavor will be made to keep the two sides of the question apart, and to discuss, (1) first, the question of Zoroaster's native place; (2) second, the scene of his ministry.

With regard to the disposition of the subject, authorities are agreed that we must look either to the east of Iran or to the west of Iran for a solution of the problem. The question of north or of south is excluded by the nature of the subject. Since this is the case, we may examine the general points of view, and resolve these into three classes: —

1. First, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in the east of Iran, in the Bactrian region, and that the scene of his religious reform belongs especially to that territory.

2. Second, the view that the home of Zoroaster is to be placed in western Iran, either in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana) or in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), and that the scene of his ministry was confined to that region.

3. Third, a compromise view, which maintains that Zoroaster arose in western Iran, in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene), or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana), but that he taught and preached in Bactria as well.

In this threefold summary it will be noticed in the first place that Persis, or Persia in the restricted sense, is left out of considera-

tion — a justifiable omission because there is no especial ground for believing that Zoroaster originated in Persia itself. In the second place, it may be stated that there seem to be just reasons for coming to a definite conclusion that Zoroaster actually arose in the west of Iran. In the third place, it may be added that a definite conclusion as to the scene of Zoroaster's ministry need not for the moment be drawn, but that this problem must be discussed as a sequel to the question of his place of origin.

With these points to be kept in mind by way of introduction, and with this word of caution, we may proceed to examine the testimony of antiquity on the subject, which is the source from which we draw our information; after that we may go on to present arguments, or to draw deductions, which are based upon the material that is gathered. A division of the sources may be made into two classes: (*a*) Classical sources, Greek or Latin; (*b*) Oriental authorities, either Iranian or non-Iranian. The testimony of these witnesses will be taken first with reference to the light they may throw upon the native country of the Prophet.[1]

[1] Partial Bibliography. For general references, see Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place? JAOS.* xv. pp. 221–232. Consult also Appendix V. below. The principal classical passages have likewise already been given by Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, p. 260 seq. (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās and in the Greek and Roman Classics*, p. 65b, Leipzig, 1897). This material is now to be supplemented considerably by references which have since become accessible in Pahlavi literature, and by abundant allusions found in Arabic and Syriac writers. For the latter, see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature,* Drisler Classical Studies (Columbia University Press), New York, 1894; for example, pp. 32, 33 (*bis*), 34, 37, 39, 40 (*bis*), 42 n., 44, 48 (*bis*). These latter 'References to Zoroaster' will be constantly referred to in the present article. Furthermore, the general question of Zoroaster's native place has often been discussed; it is sufficient to mention Hyde, *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, p. 310 seq., Oxon. 1700; Barnabé Brisson, *De regio Persarum Principatu*, p. 385 seq., editio Argent. 1710 (orig. ed. Paris, 1590); Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, tome i. Pt. 2, p. 5 seq., Paris, 1771; Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, i. 676–684 (tr. by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 179–189, London, 1886); C. de Harlez, *Avesta traduit*, Introd. pp. 23–25, 2d ed. Paris, 1881; Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. Introd. pp. 47–49, *SBE.* iv. 1st ed. Oxford, 1880.

Special notice is not taken here of works relating to the home of the Avesta itself as a sacred book, although this question is more or less directly connected with the present subject.

If references be desired, one may find the more important bibliographi-

I. ZOROASTER'S NATIVE PLACE

A. Classical References to Zoroaster's Nationality

The classical references which allude to the country of Zoroaster seem very contradictory if they be viewed alone, and they are doubtless responsible for much of the uncertainty which has prevailed on the subject. It must also be remembered that a man is sometimes known to fame through his adopted country rather than through the land of his nativity. Although often conflicting, these classical references are of service in argument; it is well, therefore, briefly to present them, first giving those statements which connect Zoroaster's name with the west of Iran, with Media or Persia; second, giving those citations which imply that Zoroaster belonged to Bactria or eastern Iran. Most of the allusions date from the earlier centuries of the Christian era, or somewhat later, although claims may be made in one or two instances that the statements rest directly upon older authority.

1. Bactria — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Eastern Iran

Several allusions in the classical writers of Greece and Rome point to the fact that Zoroaster was thought of as a Bactrian, or, at least, as exercising his activity in the east of Iran. The writers seem to have somewhat of a hazy notion that Zoroaster was not a Magian only, but that he was a king and military leader, the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis. There appears to be a reminiscence of an early struggle between a presumable eastern Iranian monarchy and the Assyrian power of the west. Most of the classical allusions to Bactria seem to indicate a common source; this source may reasonably be traced back to a misunderstood allusion

cal material on the subject of the Avestan cradle noted by Geiger, *Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā und seiner Kultur*, Abhandlungen der kgl. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. philos.-philol. Cl. 1884, pp. 315–385. Geiger's list may be supplemented by de Harlez, *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, Berliner Orientalische Congress, Abhdgn. ii. 237 seq., Berlin, 1882; Geiger's views are criticized also by de Harlez, *Das Alter und Heimath des Avesta*, Bezzenberger's Beiträge, xii. 109 seq., 1887; and by Spiegel, *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā, Zweiter Artikel*, in *ZDMG.* xli. 280 seq., 1887. Consult Darmesteter, *Le Zend-Avesta*, iii. Introd. pp. 89–90, Paris, 1893.

in Ctesias.[1] In his legendary accounts, Ctesias refers to wars carried on between Ninus and Semiramis and Ὀξυάρτης (variants, Ἐχαόρτης, Χαόρτης, Ζαόρτης); the allusion in Oxyartes (Av. *Uxšyaŧərəta*) is not to Zoroaster, although Cephalion, Justin, and Arnobius, who draw on Ctesias, make Zoroaster a Bactrian and the opponent of Ninus. The matter has been commented upon above (Appendix II. 154 seq.). The statements of these particular writers, however, are added for the sake of completeness, and they are supplemented by other classical citations. See also Appendix II.

(a) Fragments of Cephalion (A.D. 120) which are preserved in the Armenian version of Eusebius, *Chron.* **1.** 43, ed. Aucher, describe the rebellion of the Magian Zoroaster, King of the Bactrians, against Semiramis: *de Zoroastri Magi Bactrianorum regis certamine ac debellatione a Semiramide.* Compare also, in this connection, Georgius Syncellus, Appendix V. § **41** below (cf. ed. Dind. 1. p. 315), and the reputed work of Moses of Khorene, **1.** 6, 'le mage Zoroastre, roi des Bactriens, c'est à-dire des Mèdes'; or, on the other hand, Moses of Khorene, **1.** 17, 'Zoroastre (Zeratašd), mage et chef religieux des Mèdes (Mar)' — see Langlois, *Collections des Historiens de l'Arménie,* ii. 59 and 69, also Appendix VI. § **1** below; here Zoroaster is a contemporary of Semiramis, and he seizes the government of Assyria and Nineveh; Semiramis flees before him, and she is killed in Armenia (Langlois, ii. 69). See also Gilmore, *Ktesias' Persika,* p. 30 n.; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 682; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* pp. 302, 303; Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Gr.* iii. 627, v. 328. For the statement of Thomas Arzrounī, see p. 217 below and Appendix VI.

(b) Theon (A.D. 130) *Progymnasmata,* **9**, περὶ συγκρίσεως, ed. Spengel, *Rhet. Græc.* ii. 115, speaks of 'Zoroaster the Bactrian' — Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου — in connection with Semiramis. See Appendix V. § **8** below, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 290; Spiegel, *Eran. Alterthumskunde,* i. 677.

(c) Justin (c. A.D. 120), in his epitome of Pompeius Trogus' *Hist. Philippic.* **1.** 1. 9–10, makes Zoroaster a king of Bactria, a Magian, and the opponent of Ninus — *bellum cum Zoroastre rege Bactrianorum.* See Appendix V. § **10** below.

(d) Arnobius (A.D. 297), *Adversus Gentes,* **1.** 5, also mentions a battle between the Assyrians and the Bactrians, under the leadership respectively of Ninus and Zoroaster: *inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus.* See Appendix V. § **16.**

[1] See also Justi in *Grundr. d. iran. Philol.* ii. 402.

(e) Eusebius (A.D. 300), *Chron.* **4**. 35, ed. Aucher, has a like allusion to Zoroaster, Bactria, and Ninus: *Zoroastres Magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur adversum quem Ninus dimicavit ;* and again (Windischmann, p. 290), *Præparatio Evang.* 10. 9. 10, ed. Dind. p. 560, Νίνος, *καθ' ὃν* Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. See Appendix V. § **18** below.

(f) Epiphanius of Constantia (A.D. 298–403) *Adv. Hœreses*, Lib. I. tom. i. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne) associates Zoroaster's name with Nimrod, and states that Zoroaster came to the east and founded Bactria: Ζωροάστρης, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίγνεται Βάκτρων. See Appendix V. § **21** below. The same statement is later repeated by Procopius of Gaza, see Appendix V. § **33** below.

(g) Ammianus Marcellinus, **23**. 6. 32, in discussing magic rites, connects Zoroaster's name with Bactria, but identifies Hystaspes (Vishtāspa) with the father of Darius: *cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus, Darei pater.* See Appendix V. § **22** below.

(h) Paulus Orosius (5th century A.D.) states that Ninus conquered and slew Zoroaster of Bactria, the Magician. For the citation and for the Anglo-Saxon version see p. 157 and Appendix V. § **27** below.

(i) Augustine (A.D. 354–430), *de Civ. Dei*, **21**. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne) follows the same idea in making Zoroaster a Bactrian whose name is associated with Ninus: *a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse (Zoroastres) Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.* See Appendix V. § **28** below.

(j) Isidorus (A.D. 570–636), *Etymol.* **8**. 9 (tom. iii. col. 310, ed. Migne): *Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum proelio interfecit;* and he alludes to a statement of Aristotle regarding Zoroaster's writings. See Appendix V. § **38** below. Again Isidorus, *Chron.* (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): *hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. A Nino rege occiditur.*

(k) Hugo de Sancto Victore (died A.D. 1140), *Adnot. Elucid. in Pentateuchon — in Gen.* (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): *rex Bactriae Nino vicinus et vocatus Zoroastes, inventor et auctor maleficiae mathematicae artis.*

2. Media or Persia — Classical References placing Zoroaster in Western Iran

There are nine or ten classical allusions, on the other hand, which connect Zoroaster's name with Media, or rather with Persia, the latter term often being used doubtless in a broader sense.

(a) Pliny the Elder (A.D. 23–79), *N. H.* **30.** 2. 1, for example, gives his opinion that the art of the Magi arose in Persia with Zoroaster, but he is in doubt as to whether there were two Zoroasters or only one, and he alludes to a Proconnesian Zoroaster. Thus, in his first statement, he writes, *N. H.* **30.** 2. 1, *sine dubio illic* (*ars Magica*) *orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores convenit. Sed unus hic fuerit, an postea alius, non satis constat.* Again, in his second statement, when speaking of the Magian Osthanes, who accompanied Xerxes to Greece, he says, *N. H.* **30.** 2. 8, *diligentiores paulo ante hunc* (*Osthanem*) *ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium.* See Appendix V. § **5**.

Perhaps in this same connection may be mentioned the curious remark of the Scholiast to the Platonic Alcibiades (see Appendix V. § **1** below), to the effect that, according to some, Zoroaster was a 'Hellenian,' or that he had come from the mainland beyond the sea: Ζωροάστρης . . . ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, κ. τ. λ. See Appendix V. § **1**, and cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 275 n.

(b) Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. 200) speaks of Zoroaster either as a Mede or as a Persian, with an allusion incidentally to Pamphylia: *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne), Ζωροάστρην τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην; and *Strom.* i. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne), Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος. Cf. again *Strom.* v. on Πάμφυλος. See Appendix V. § **13** below.

(c) Origenes (A.D. 185–254), *Contra Celsum* i. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne), speaks of Zoroaster as a Persian — τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην. See Appendix V. § **14**.

(d) Diogenes Laertius (flor. c. A.D. 210), *de Vit. Philos. Procem.* 2, writes of 'Zoroaster the Persian,' — Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, — and apparently bases various statements which he makes about him on the authority of Hermodorus (B.C. 250?) and Xanthus of Lydia (B.C. 500–450). The text should be consulted; see Appendix V. § **15** below.

(e) Porphyrius (A.D. 233–304), *de Antro Nymph.* **6.** 7, refers, at

least, to Zoroaster's retirement into a cave 'in the mountains of Persia': Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος. The context shows that the region of Persia in a general sense is intended. See Appendix V. § **17**, and cf. Windischmann, *Mithra*, Abh. f. Kunde d. Morgenl. i. 62, Leipzig, 1857.

(f) Lactantius (about A.D. 300), *Inst.* **7**. 15, refers to Hystaspes (Zoroaster's patron) as an ancieut king of Media, long antedating the founding of Rome: *Hystaspes quoque, qui fuit Medorum rex antiquissimus* (cf. Migne, *Patrolog. Lat.* tom. 6, and Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 259, 293).

(g) Gregory of Tours (A.D. 538–593), *Hist. Francor.* **1**. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne), identifying Zoroaster with Chus (Cham or Ham), places him among the Persians, to whom he is said to have immigrated: *hic ad Persas transiit; hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem.* See Appendix V. § **37**.

(h) Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum (A.D. 7th century, but with spurious additions A.D. 1042), col. 148 seq., ed Migne, has ὁ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ ἀστρονόμος Πέρσων ὁ περιβόητος. Again the allusion is very general in sense. See Appendix V. § **39**.

(i) It may be noted merely in passing that Georgius Syncellus (about A.D. 800), *Chron.* i. p. 147, alludes to a Zoroaster who was one of the Median rulers over Babylon more than a thousand years before the Christian era. No emphasis need be laid upon the passage, nor any stress upon identifying the name necessarily with the Prophet; the chief interest of the allusion consists in its showing that the name Zoroaster was found in Media. See Justi, *Grundriss der iran. Phil.* ii. 402; Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* p. 302; Haug, *A Lecture on Zoroaster*, p. 23, Bombay, 1865. Consult Appendix V. § **41** below.

(j) Suidas (about A.D. 970), s.v. Ζωροάστρης, assumes a second famous representative of the name, a Perso-Median sage (Περσομήδης, σοφός). This is evidently the Prophet. See Appendix V. § **45**.

(k) Michael Glycas (flourished about A.D. 1150), *Ann. Pars* ii. col. 253, ed. Migne, repeats the statements current about Ninus, Semiramis, and Zoroaster, whom he speaks of under the general term of Persian, — Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, — and he adds several allusions to the magic art in Media and Persia: τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι; τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. See Appendix V. § **47**.

Estimate of the Classical Allusions. — The classical allusions on the subject of Zoroaster's nationality are rather contradictory and conflicting. They refer to Bactria on the one hand and to Media and Persia on the other. The allusions to Persia are doubtless to be taken in a broad and general sense. It will be noticed, moreover, that the direct place of birth is not necessarily implied in these national appellatives. In point of time, few of the classical passages are much older than the more direct Oriental allusions; some of them are even later. They are of value chiefly for bringing out both sides of the question of eastern Iran and western Iran, and they are of importance when checked by tradition or when used for throwing additional light on tradition.

B. Oriental References to Zoroaster's Place of Origin — The Tradition

Laying the classical authorities aside, we may now have recourse to the more direct Oriental tradition. For the most part the Oriental material is either directly Iranian or it is Arabic matter drawn from Iranian sources. This gives it a special value. The statements on the subject may therefore be taken up in detail; the allusions found in the Pahlavi or patristic writings of Zoroastrianism will first be presented; these will then be elucidated further by references in Arabic and Syriac authors; and, finally, they will be judged in the light of the Avesta itself. If the Oriental citations be examined critically, they will be found generally to be quite consistent in their agreement on the place of Zoroaster's origin.

Western Iran — Atropatene, Media — the Scene of Zoroaster's Appearance according to Oriental Sources

There is a general uniformity among Oriental writings which touch on the subject in locating the scene of Zoroaster's appearance in western Iran, either in Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) or in Media Proper (Media Rhagiana). The city of Urmī (mod. Urumiah, Oroomiah), Shīz, or the district round about Lake Oroomiah (Av. Caēcasta or Caēcista), and Raī (Av. Raghā) are the rivals for the honor of being his home. The sea of Caēcista is the Galilee of Zoroastrianism; Shīz and Raghā, the Nazareth and the Bethlehem of Iran. Urmī and Shīz represent Atropatene; Raī (Raghā) stands for Media Proper.

The rivalry between the two regions mentioned, and the association of Zoroaster's name, first with Media Atropatene (Ādarbaijān), and then with the Median Raī (Media Rhagiana), happily finds an explanation in a remark made by Shahrastānī (A.D. 1086–1153).[1] This Arab writer gives us the key to the problem when he says of Zoroaster that 'his father was of the region of Ādarbaijān; his mother, whose name was Dughdū, came from the city of Raī.'[2]

This statement of Shahrastānī is apparently vouched for by the Dīnkarṭ (**7**. 2. 7–13), from which source we learn that Zoroaster's mother before her marriage with Pourushaspa (Pōrūshāspō) resided in a different district from the latter. As a girl she becomes filled with a divine splendor and glory; the phenomenon causes her to be suspected of witchcraft, and her father is induced by idolatrous priests to send her from his home. She goes to Paṭīragtarāspō, 'father of a family in the country of the Spītāmās, in the district of Alāk (or Arāk),'[3] where she marries Pourushaspa the son. This district is probably connected with the 'Arag province' (Zsp. **20**. 4), which latter is undoubtedly a part of Ādarbaijān.[4] Furthermore, by way of localization, we note that the village of Paṭirāgtarāspō is stated to have been situated in a valley (Dk. **7**. 2. 11–13); and the house of the son Pourushaspa, Zoroaster's father, is elsewhere spoken of as occupying the bank of the river Darej, which may have been the home of the Prophet's parents after they married.[5]

Lastly, by way of introduction, it must be noticed that there is an old proverb in Pahlavi literature which characterizes anything that is preposterous as something that could hardly happen 'even if Rāk (or Rāgh) and Nōṭar should come together' (Dk. **7**. 2. 51; **7**. 3. 19; Zsp. **16**. 11–13, and cf. Dk. **7**. 3. 39). In Zsp. **16**. 12–13, these proper names, Rāgh and Nōṭar, are explained as 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṭakān (Ādarbaijān), such as are at sixty leagues (para-

[1] See my article in *JAOS.* xv. 228.

[2] See *JAOS.* xv. 228, and cf. Hyde, *Hist. Religionis vet. Pers.* p. 298; Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48 (*bis*); Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. (2d ed.), p. 261, *Le ZA.* iii. 35, n. and Introd. p. 89, n. 2. See also p. 17 above and p. 199.

[3] Quotation from Dk. **7**. 2. 9 (West's translation, *SBE.* xlvii. 20).

[4] On 'Arag,' consult West, *SBE.* xlvii. 151, n.; and, slightly differently, Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 89, n. 2. West writes me, Nov. 1, 1897, Rāgh = Rāk = Arāk = Alāk = Av. Raghā.

[5] Bd. **20**. 32; **24**. 15; Zsp. **22**. 12; Vd. **19**. 4; **19**. 11. Shahrastānī speaks of a mountain (*Ism*)*uwīz-xar* (reading ?), in Ādarbaijān, associated with Zoroaster's birth.

sang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst;[1] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṯar. And of these two provinces, Rāgh was according to the name of Ēricŏ, son of Dūrēsrōbō, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Zaratūsht; and Nōṯar was according to the name of Nōṯar, son of Mānūshcīhar, from whom arose the race of Vishtāsp.'[2]

So much by way of introduction. We may now proceed to discuss Ādarbaijān (Atropatene) and Media (Media Rhagiana) respectively.

1. Ādarbaijān (Atropatene)

The connection of Zoroaster with Lake Caēcista, Urumiah, Shīz, and the territory round about, may be further illustrated by quotations in Zoroastrian literature.

a. Allusions in Zoroastrian Literature

The allusions to Ādarbaijān will first be presented, and then an attempt will be made to localize, if possible, the regiou known in the Avesta as Airyana Vaējah (Phl. Aīrān-Vēj), and the river called Darej or Dāraja.

(a) The Būndahishn places the home of Zoroaster in Aīrān Vēj, by the river Dāraja. Bd. **20**. 32, *Dāraja rūṯ pavan Aīrān Vēj, mūnaš mān-ī Pōrūšaspō abītar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bār yehevūnṯ*, 'the Dāraja river is in Aīrān Vēj, on whose bank (*bār*) was the abode of Pōrūshasp, the father of Zaratūsht.'[3]

(b) The Būndahishn, in another passage, also states that Zoroaster was born near the Dāraja River. Bd. **24**. 15, *Dāraja rūṯ rūṯ-bārān raṯ, mamanaš mān-ī abīṯar-ī Zaratūšt pavan bālx;*[4] *Zaratūšt tamman zāṯ*, 'the Dāraja River is the chief of exalted rivers, for the abode of Zaratūsht's father was upon its banks; and Zaratūsht was born there.'

[1] If we assume that Cīst (Av. Caēcista) is Lake Urumiah, then '60 parasangs' (210–240 miles) would place Rāgh and Nōṯar considerably outside of the boundaries of the present Ādarbaijān. So noticed by West (personal letter, dated Nov. 1, 1897). This would favor the common identification of Rāgh, the home of Zoroaster's mother, with the ruins of Raī.

[2] Zsp. **16**. 11–12 (West's translation, *SBE*. xlvii. 146–147). In the Avesta, Vishtāspa is of the family of Naotairyans, and so also is Hutaosa his wife. Cf. Yt. **5**. 98; **15**. 35 and *SBE*. xlvii. 80, n. 1 and p. 70 above.

[3] See also West, *SBE*. v. 82, and p. 204 below.

[4] To be emended; see the remarks on the reading of the word by West, *SBE*. v. 89, n. 6.

(c) Zāṭ-sparam, **22.** 12, makes one of Zoroaster's conferences with the archangels to have taken place 'on the precipitous bank of the Dareja' (*pavan Darejīn zbār*). See West, *SBE.* xlvii. 162 n. There can be little doubt that this assertion, like the unequivocal statements of the Būndahishn, rests upon good old tradition; the three allusions accord perfectly with hints which are found in the Avesta itself.

(d) In the Avesta, Vd. **19.** 4; **19.** 11, we likewise learn that Zoroaster's temptations by Ahriman, as well as his visions of Ormazd and the archangels, took place, in part at least, upon the banks of the river Darej, where stood the house of his father Pourushaspa: Vd. **19.** 4, *Drəjya paiti zbarahi nmānahe Pourushaspahe*, 'by the Darej, upon its high bank, at the home (*loc. gen.*) of Pourushaspa.' Compare Phl. *pavan Darejīn zbār* in the preceding paragraph. A little farther on in the same chapter we read: Vd. **19.** 11, *pərəsaṯ Zaraθuštrō Ahurəm Mazdąm . . . Drəjya paiti zbarahe, Ahurāi Mazdāi vaŋhave, Vohu-Maite ånəhānō, Ašāi Vahištāi, Xšaθrāi Vairyāi, Spəntayāi Ārmatāe*, 'Zoroaster communed with Ahura Mazda on the high bank of the Darej, sitting (?) before the good Ahura Mazda, and before Good Thought, before Asha Vahishta, Khshathra Vairya, and Spenta Armaiti.'[1]

With regard to localizations, there is good ground for believing that Aīrān Vēj (Av. Airyana Vaējah) is to be identified in part at least with Ādarbaijān, and that the ancient Darej of the Avesta (Phl. Dāraja) is identical with the modern Daryai. The Daryai Rūd flows from Mt. Savalān (Sebīlān), in Ādarbaijān, northward into the Aras (Araxes).[2] If the identification be correct and the

[1] The reference to the elevation or the precipitous bank of the river, Av. *zbarah*, Phl. *zbār*, *bār* (cf. Skt. *hvāras*), seems to be in accordance with the tradition that Zoroaster retired to a mountain for meditation; see Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm avi spəntō-frasnā, varəšəm avi spəntō-frasnā*, 'to the mountain of the two who held holy converse; to the wood where the two (Ormazd and Zoroaster) had holy communings.' See similar ideas above, p. 34. If it were not for the Pahlavi passages, one might be inclined to render Av. *zbarahi*, 'at a bend' (of the river), or as adj. 'meandering'; cf. Skt. √ *hvar*, 'to be crooked, to wind'; or even the idea 'in a cave' might be gotten etymologically from the word; and the cave played a part in Zoroastrian and Mithraic mysteries. On the latter point compare Windischmann, *Mithra*, pp. 62–64, in *Abh. K. Morg.* i. No. 1, 1857.

[2] See also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta* tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.). For the river Aras (Araxes), see de Harlez, *Avesta* traduit, p. viii. map; also the map of Persia by Philip

ancient Darej, Dāraja, was in Atropatene, it is wholly in keeping with what follows; for in this connection may be noticed a later non-Iranian tradition which associates Zoroaster's name with Shīz (cf. Av. Caēcista) and with Mt. Savalān. Consult the Map.

This tradition which supports the assumed identification Darej, Dāraja, Daryai, is found in the Arabic writer Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263).[1] The passage in which Ḳazwīnī speaks of Shīz in Ādarbaijān is as follows: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here (*i.e.* Ādarbaijān). It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian, which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Gushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai-Khusrau, king of Persia.'[2] Mount Sabalān (Savalān) may be the Avestan 'Mount of the Holy Communicants,' with a sacred tree perhaps (Vd. **22.** 19, *gairīm spəntō-frasnå, varəšəm spəntō-frasnå*), for Ḳazwīnī elsewhere says of Sabalān: 'It is related that the Prophet (*i.e.* Mohammed) said: Sabalān is a mountain between Armenia and Ādarbaijān. On it is one of the graves of the prophets. He said further: On the top of the mountain is a large spring, the water of which is frozen on account of the severe cold; and around the mountain are hot springs to which sick people come. At the foot of the mountain is a large tree, and under this there is a plant to which no animal will draw near. If it comes near it, the animal flees away; if it eat of it, it dies.'[3] The religious character of the place, the mountain, the tree, the springs, would answer well for the identification suggested for the modern Daryai Rūd in Ādarbaijān.

This much having been prefaced with reference to Ādarbaijān and with regard to the river near which the Prophet probably passed some of his early years, or in the neighborhood of which he

& Son (London), Rand & McNally (New York), and especially by Keith Johnson (Edinburgh and London) at the end of this volume.

[1] Ḳazwīnī, ii. p. 267, ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848 (Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40); consult also Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. p. 49 (1st ed.), where Rawlinson's identification of Shīz with Takht-i Suleimān is noticed.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 40.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 41–42. According to Gottheil, the tree appears also in connection with Zoroaster in Syriac legends.

may have been born (Bd. **24**. 15), if not at Urumiah, we are next prepared to take np the question of Aīrān Vēj.

Direct Iranian tradition explicitly connects the opening of Zoroaster's prophetic career with Airyana Vaējah of the Avesta, or Aīrān Vēj in Pahlavi. This land is sometimes regarded as mythical; but, like a number of other scholars, I do not agree with that view. I am inclined strongly to favor the opinion of those who think we have good reason for believing that Airyana Vaējah is to be localized in the west of Iran, as the Pahlavi locates it, and that this also points to the notion that Zoroaster originally came from that direction eastward. The Būndahishn expressly connects Aīrān Vēj with Atropatene : Bd. **29**. 12, *Aīrān Vēj pavan kūst-ī Ātūrpāṯakān*. The present opinion of scholars tends to uphold this localization.[1] The river Darej, near which stood the house of Zoroaster's father, was in Aīrān Vēj, as already stated, and an identification was accordingly suggested. In the Avesta, moreover, Zoroaster is familiarly spoken of as 'renowned in Airyana Vaējah' (Ys. **9**. 14, *srūtō airyene vaējahe*). The Prophet is also there represented as offering sacrifice in Airyana Vaējah by the river Dāityā (see below): Yt. **5**. 104; **9**. 25; **17**. 45, *airyene vaējahi vaŋhuyå dāityayå*. The Būndahishn likewise alludes to the fact that Zoroaster first offered worship in Aīrān Vēj and received Mēṯyōmāh (Av. *Maiδyōi-måŋha*) as his first disciple. The passage reads, Bd. **32**. 3, 'Zaratūsht, when he brought the religion, first celebrated worship in Aīrān Vēj and Mēṯyōmāh received the religion from him.'[2] In the Dīnkarṯ also, as well as in the Avesta, the river Dāītī and its affluents in the land of Aīrān Vēj form the scene of Zoroaster's first revelation and of certainly one of his interviews with the archangels, the majority of which took place in Atropatene (Dk. **7**. 3. 51–54; 4. 29; 8. 60; 9. 23; Zsp. **21**. 5; **21**. 13; **22**. 2; **22**. 9).[3] In the later Persian Zartusht Namah, Zoroaster passes the Dāītī before he proceeds on his mission to King Vishtāsp.[4]

[1] Darmesteter, *Le ZA*. ii. 5–6 ; Geldner, *Grundr. d. iran. Phil*. ii. 38 ; similarly Justi, Spiegel, and de Harlez make Media the home of the Avesta. The strongest opponent of this view, and warmest supporter of Bactria, is Geiger, *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882 ; *Sitz. d. Kgl. bayr. Akad*., Mai, 1884, and recently *Grundr. d. iran. Phil*. ii. 389. Spiegel notices the question of Airyanem Vaējō in *ZDMG*. xli. 289.

[2] Cf. West, *SBE*. v. 141, and Justi, *Der Bundahesh*, p. 79.

[3] Cf. p. 40 seq., above.

[4] See Eastwick's translation in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 491.

The hallowed Dāityā[1]—a sort of Iranian Jordan—was perhaps a border stream between two territorial divisions; we recall that Vishtāspa sacrifices 'on the other side of it' (cf. *pasne*, Yt. **17**. 49) as discussed elsewhere, p. 211. The proposed identification of the Dāityā and its affluents, with the modern Ḳizel Ūzen, Spēd or Safēd Rūd and its tributaries in Ādarbaijān has already been mentioned as satisfying most of the conditions of the problem.[2]

β. Allusions in Mohammedan Writers

Having examined the direct Iranian sources in the light of possible allusions to Atropatene, we may now turn to other material on the subject. Mohammedan writers are almost unanimous in placing the first part of Zoroaster's prophetic career in Ādarbaijān (Āẓarbaijān) or in stating that he came originally from that region.[3] The traditions cluster about Urumiah (Urmī) and Shīz. The Arabic name Shīz is the counterpart of an Iranian Cīz (from Caēcista), or Lake Urumiah.[4] The Arab geographer Yāḳūt (A.D. 1250) describes 'Shīz, a district of Aẓarbaijān . . . which is believed to be the country of Zaradusht, the prophet of the fire-worshippers. The chief place of this district is Urmiah';[5] and under Urmiah he writes: 'It is believed that this is the city of Zaradusht and that it was founded by the fire-worshippers.'[6]

There are a dozen other such statements which will be given below, but before presenting them it will be well merely to note that two or three Arabic authors allude to Zoroaster as being of Palestinian origin, and they state that he came from that land to Ādarbaijān; and they proceed to identify him with Baruch, the scribe of Jeremiah. This confusion is presumably due to their having confounded the Arabic form of the name Jeremiah, *Armiah* (ارميه)

[1] Lit. the 'river of the Law,' on which it was first promulgated.

[2] See pp. 41, 211. The same suggestion has been made tentatively by West, *SBE.* v. 79 n.; but Justi, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 402, proposes either the Kur or the Aras. Similarly Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 6, n.

[3] The quotations in the following paragraphs are made from the monograph of my friend and colleague, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, Drisler Classical Studies, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press).

[4] See Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. p. xxi, n. 2, and cf. Justi, *Handbuch*, s.v. *Caēcasta*.

[5] See Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse, extrait de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861, p. 367.

[6] Ibid. p. 26, 85.

with Zoroaster's supposed native place Urumiah, *Urmiah* (أرميه).[1] Having noticed this point we may present the Arabic and Syriac allusions to Zoroaster's native place, which are almost unanimous in mentioning Ādarbaijān (Āzarbaijān).

(a) Ibn Khurdādhbah (about A.D. 816),[2] *Kitāb al-Masālik wa'l-Mamālik*, p. 119 (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1889) writes of 'Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Salamās and Shīz, in which last city there is the temple of Adharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[3]

(b) Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī (about A.D. 851) in his *Kitāb Futūḥ al-buldān* (De Goeje, *Liber Expugnationis Regnorum*, p. 331. 1, Leyden, 1866), in mentioning the conquest of Ādarbaijān, adds the following note: 'Urmiah is an ancient city (of Ādarbaijān); the Magians think that Zāradusht, their master, came from there.'[4]

(c) Ibn al-Faḳīh al-Hamadhānī (about A.D. 910), in his geographical account (ed. De Goeje, Leyden, 1885, p. 286) mentions as cities of Ādarbaijān: 'Janzah, Jābrawān, and Urmiah, the city of Zarādusht, and Shīz, in which there is the fire-temple, Ādharjushnas, which is held in high esteem by the Magians.'[5]

(d) Ṭabarī (d. A.D. 923), in his history, gives considerable attention to Zoroaster; out of a number of allusions one passage may be selected. It will be noticed, as explained above, pp. 38, 166, that Ṭabarī mentions a belief that Zoroaster was a native of Palestine who came to Ādarbaijān. In his *Annales*, Part I. p. 648 (Brill, Leyden, 1881), the passage runs: 'During the reign of Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp) Zarādusht appeared, whom the Magians believe to be their prophet. According to some learned men among the people of the book (i.e. the Jews), he was of Palestinian origin, a servant to one of the disciples of Jeremiah the prophet, with whom he was a favorite; but he proved treacherous and false to him. Wherefore

[1] Cf. pp. 30, 166 above and Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 30, n. 2.

[2] His father is stated to have been a Magian, Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

[4] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33. It is not necessary at this point to repeat also the allusion to 'Persia' in the Christian patriarch Eutychius of Alexandria (A.D. 876–939) when he mentions Zoroaster. This author wrote in Arabic; the passage is given above in a Latin version in Appendix II. p. 168, and it may be found rendered into Latin in Migne, *Patrolog. Gr.*, tom. 111.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 44.

God cursed him, and he became leprous.[1] He wandered to Ādarbaijān, and preached there the Magian religion. From there he went to Bishtāsp, who was in Balkh. Now when he (Zoroaster) had come before him and preached his doctrine to him, it caused him to marvel, and he compelled his people to accept it, and put many of his people to death on its account. They then followed it (the religion). Bishtāsp reigned one hundred and twelve years.'[2]

(e) Masūdī (writing A.D. 943–944, died 951) states in his *Meadows of Gold:* 'Gushtāsp reigned after his father (Lohrāsp) and resided at Balkh. He had been on the throne thirty years when Zardusht, son of Espimān, presented himself before him . . . he (Zardusht) was originally from Ādarbaijān and he is ordinarily called Zardusht, son of Espimān.'[3]

(f) Hamzah al-Iṣfahānī (A.D. eleventh century) in his *Annals*, p. 22, 26 (Gottwaldt, *Hamzae Ispahanensis Annalium*, Libri x, Lipsiae, 1848) states: 'While King Lohrāsp was still living, the sovereignty was handed over to his son Gushtāsp; and in the thirtieth year of Gushtāsp's reign, when he himself was fifty years old, Zardusht of Ādarbaijān came to him and expounded the religion to him. He not only embraced the religion himself, but he also sent messengers to the Greeks in behalf of this faith and invited them to adopt it. They, on the contrary, produced a book which had been given them by Ferīdūn, in which it was agreed that they should be allowed to keep whatsoever religion they had themselves chosen.'[4]

(g) Shahrastānī (born A.D. 1086) has the famous statement already noticed, pp. 17, 192: 'They (the Zarādushtīya) are the followers of Zarādusht ibn Būrshasb (Purshasp), who appeared in the time of King Kushtāsf (Gushtāsp) ibn Lohrāsp; his father was from Ādarbaijān, and his mother, whose name was Dughdū, was from Raī.'[5] According to Shahrastānī the Prophet's birth takes place in Ādarbaijān.

(h) Ibn al-Athīr (A.D. 13th century) incorporates the greater part of Ṭabarī's history into his *Kitāb al-Kāmil fī al-ta'arikh*, with slight

[1] Cf. p. 30 and Appendix II. p. 166.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–37.

[3] From Masūdī (Maçoudī), *Prairies d'Or, Texte et traduction par Barbier de Meynard*, ii. p. 123. See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 34.

[4] After Gottwaldt's Latin translation. See also Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 33.

[5] From the German translation by Haarbrücker, i. p. 275 seq.; see Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 48.

additions from other sources, and with a more concise arrangement. His account of Zoroaster closely follows Ṭabarī's lines, including the statement regarding Zoroaster's relation to Jeremiah,[1] and his wandering to Ādarbaijān: 'It is said, he adds, that he was a foreigner,[2] and that he had composed a book with which he went around in the land. No one knew its meaning. He pretended that it was a heavenly tongue in which he was addressed. He called it *Ashta*.[3] He went from Ādarbaijān to Fāris (Persia). But no one understood what was in it, nor did they receive him. Then he went to India and offered it to the princes there. Then he went to China and to the Turks, but not one of them would receive him. They drove him out from their country. He travelled to Ferghānah, but its prince wished to kill him. From there he fled and came to Bishtāsp (Vishtāsp), son of Lohrāsp, who commanded that he be imprisoned. He suffered imprisonment for some time.'[4] And Ibn al-Athīr farther on relates: 'Then Bishtāsp caused Zarādusht, who was in Balkh, to be brought to him. When he stood before the king he explained his religion to him. The king wondered at it, followed it, and compelled his people to do the same. He killed a large number of them until they accepted (the new religion). The Magians believe that he took his rise in Ādarbaijān and that he came down to the king through the roof of the chamber. In his hand was a cube of fire with which he played without its hurting him; nor did it burn any one who took it from his hands. He caused the king to follow him and to hold to his religion, and to build temples in his land for the fires. From this they lighted the fire in the fire-temples.'[5]

(i) Yāḳūt (about A.D. 1250) has already been cited, but the allusions from Gottheil's collection (p. 42) are added here for completeness. The *Kitāb Mu'jam al-buldān* (vol. iii. p. 354, ed. Wüstenfeld) remarks of Shīz: 'It is said that Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, comes from this place. Its chief city is Urmiah. . . . In it is a fire-temple which is held in great esteem. From it are lighted the fires of the Magians from the east unto the west.' Also, vol. i.

[1] See comment on pp. 197–198.

[2] *Min al-'ajam;* probably a Persian (Gottheil).

[3] Mistake for *Abasta*, *Avesta*.

[4] The notion of Zoroaster's wanderings is not inconsistent with what is implied in the Dīnkarṭ; the imprisonment is also familiar from the stories in the Dīnkarṭ and Zartusht Nāmah, p. 62 above.

[5] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 39–40.

p. 219, Yāḳūt has: 'Urmiah . . . people believe it to be the city of Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians.'[1]

(j) Ḳazwīnī (about A.D. 1263), *Cosmography*, ii. p. 267 (ed. Wüstenfeld, Göttingen, 1848), speaking of Shīz in Ādarbaijān, recounts: 'Zarādusht, the prophet of the Magians, takes his origin from here. It is said that he came from Shīz. He went to the mountain Sabalān, separated from men. He brought a book the name of which was *Basta*. It was written in Persian which could not be understood except with the assistance of a commentator. He appeared, claiming the gift of prophecy, at the time of Kushtāsp, the son of Lohrāsp, the son of Kai Khusrau, king of the Persians. He wished to get to Bishtāsp, but he did not succeed. Bishtāsp was sitting in the hall of state, when the roof of the hall parted in two, and Zarādusht came down from it.' And, after describing some of the details of Vishtāsp's conversion, Ḳazwīnī concludes: 'Zarādusht commanded that fire-temples should be built in all the kingdom of Bishtāsp. He made the fire a Kibla, not a god. This sect continued to exist until the prophet of God (Mohammed) was sent. They say that even to-day a remnant of it is to be found in the land of Sajistān.'[2]

(k) The Syriac writer, Gregorius Bar 'Ebhrāyā (about A.D. 1250) in his *Arabic Chronicon*, p. 83 (ed. Salḥani, Beirut, 1890), following his Arab masters, says: 'In those days (of Cyrus and Cambyses) Zaradosht, chief of the Magian sect, by birth of Ādarbaijān, or, as some say, of Āthōr (Assyria). It is reported that he was one of Elijah's disciples, and he informed the Persians of the sign of the birth of Christ, and that they should bring him gifts.'[3]

(l) Abulfeda (A.D. 1273–1331), *Annals*, vol. iii. p. 58, as cited by Hyde, states that Zoroaster arose in (ارمي) *Urmī* or (ارميه) *Urmiah*. See Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 311 (1st ed.). Hyde discusses other Arabic references, pp. 312–317. See below, Appendix VI. § 2.

Estimate of the Mohammedan Allusions. — According to the Arabic statements one would be justified in assuming that Zoroaster arose in Ādarbaijān; there seems also to be a preponderance of statements to the effect that Balkh was the scene of the Prophet's conversion of Vishtāsp.

[1] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 42.

[2] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 40–41.

[3] Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 32.

2. Raghā, Raī (Media Rhagiana)

All the above traditional Oriental allusions have been unanimous in placing Zoroaster's origin in Ādarbaijān, or Media Atropatene, whether in Urumiah, Shīz, or on the river Darej. There are yet two other passages, drawn from the Avesta, which connect Zoroaster's name with Raghā.

Raghā is generally identified with the city of Raī (Gk. Ῥάγαι) of Media, whose ancient ruins are still pointed out near modern Teheran. This was a famous city in antiquity, the 'Rages of Media' in the O. T. Apocrypha.[1] The Pahlavi texts seem to regard it as part of Ātūr-pāṭakān.[2] Perhaps the boundaries of Ādarbaijān were wider extended then than now, although Darmesteter suggests that possibly there may have been a Raghā in Ādarbaijān independent of Raī.[3] This seems hardly necessary from what follows. We must also remember that Ragā in the Ancient Persian inscriptions is a district or province, *dahyu*. The subject of Raghā requires further discussion, but it may be stated at the outset that these allusions, in any event, lend additional weight to the view of Zoroaster's belonging originally to western Iran.

But before taking up the detailed question of Av. *Raghā*, Phl. *Rāgh*, Mod. Pers. *Raī*, it will be well to cite an extract from the Dabistān, a work that is late in its present form (about A.D. 1650), but a book which contains old traditions. The passage runs: 'It is generally reported that Zardusht was of Ādarbaijān or Tabrīz; but those who are not *Beh-dīnians*, or "true believers," assert, and the writer of this work has also heard from the Mobed Torru of Busāwāri, in Gujarat, that the birthplace and distinguished ancestors of the prophet belong to the city of Raī.'[4] With this information we may turn to the Avesta itself.

(a) The first of the two Avesta texts which evidently associate Zoroaster's name in some way with Raghā is Vd. **1.** 15, and the Pahlavi version of the passage is interesting. The Avesta passage reads: Vd. **1.** 15, *dvadasəm asaŋhąmca šōiθranąmca vahištəm frāθ-*

[1] On 'Rhagæ,' see my article in Harper's *Dict. of Classical Antiquities*, pp. 1369–1370, New York, 1897.

[2] E.g. Zsp. **16.** 12, West, *SBE.* xlvii. 147, et al.

[3] *Le ZA.* ii. 13, n., 33.

[4] *Dabistān*, tr. Shea and Troyer, i. p. 263, Paris, 1843. The translator adds a note that Raī is the most northern town of the province Jebal, or Irak Ajem, the country of the ancient Parthians.

wərəsəm azəm yō ahurō mazdå raγąm θrizantūm, 'as the twelfth most excellent of localities and places, I who am Ahura Mazda created Raghā of the three races.' The Pahlavi commentary renders, *rāk ī 3 tōxmak ātūr-pāṯakāno*, 'Rāk of three races, of Ātūr-pāṯakān,'[1] and he adds the gloss, *aētun mūn rēī yemalelūnēṯo*, 'some say it is Raī.' Notice the footnote.[2]

(b) The second of the Avestan passages which connects the name of Zoroaster with Raghā is in Ys. **19**. 18. Mention is there made of five regular rulers, 'the lord of the house, the village, the province, and the country, and Zarathushtra as the fifth.' This order, as the text continues, holds good for all countries 'except the Zarathushtrian Raji (or *Raghi;* is it Raī?).' 'The Zarathushtrian Raghā (*Raγa Zaraθuštriš*) has four lords, the lord of the house, the village, the province, and Zarathushtra as the fourth.' The text is appended.

Ys. **19**. 18, *Kaya ratavō? nmānyō vīsyō zantumō dāhyumō zaraθuštrō puxδō. åŋhąm daŋhyunąm yå anyå rājōiṯ zaraθuštrōiṯ. caθru-ratuš raγa zaraθuštriš. kaya aiŋhå ratavō? nmānyasca vīsyasca zantumasca zaraθuštrō tūiryō*. This construction evidently signifies that the *Dāhyuma*, or governor, is everywhere the supreme head, but there is acknowledged one who stands above him as representative of the church, as well as state, the chief pontiff Zoroaster (*Zarathushtra*), or 'the supreme Zoroaster' (*Zarathushtrōtema*), as he is elsewhere termed (e.g. Ys. **26**. 1; Yt. **10**. 115, etc.). In the papal see of Raghā, however, the temporal power (Dāhyuma) and the spiritual lordship (Zarathushtra) are united in the one person.[3] For some reason Raghā is plainly the seat of the religious government. The Pahlavi version (ad loc.) speaks of it in connection with Zoroaster as being 'his own district' (*maṯā-ī nafšman*);[4] the Sanskrit of Nēryōsang glosses the allusion by asserting that

[1] Cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Pahlavi Version of the Avesta Vendidad*, p. 8, Bombay, 1895.

[2] Allusion has been made above (p. 202) to the question of a Raghā in Ādarbaijān as possibly contrasted with the Ῥάγαι of the Greek, or possibly to a *Raγa Zaraθuštriš* different from Raī; cf. also the Anc. Pers. *Ragā* as a district or province, *dahyu;* but that is uncertain.

[3] See also Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. p. 170.

[4] Notice the use of 'district,' and elsewhere Raghā is a region as well as a town of Media. On Greek allusions to Ῥάγαι, see also Haug, *Ahuna-Vairya-Formel*, pp. 133–134 (=45–46), München, 1872, and the article which is referred to on the preceding page (p. 202, n. 1).

Zoroaster was the fourth lord in this village, because it is his own —*tasmin grāme yat svīyam āsīt asāu gurus' caturtho 'bhūt*.[1] Raghā is plainly a centre of ecclesiastical power, as remarked above. This fact is further attested by Yāḳūt (i. p. 244), who says there was a celebrated fortress 'in the district of Dunbāwand, in the province of Raī' (notice the latter expression), which was the stronghold of the chief priest of the Magians.[2] If Raghā enjoyed such religious prominence there must have been ground for it, and we recall what was said above, in the Dabistān and Shahrastānī's statement, which connects Zoroaster's mother's family with Raī.

(c) As a sequel to this, comes an interesting comment in the Selections of Zāṭ-sparam; this has already been noticed (p. 192), but it is worthy of being taken up again at this point, for it is a sort of Iranian adage like Macbeth's Birnam wood and Dunsinane. In Zsp. 16. 11–12, an old proverbial affirmation is used to assert that something is impossible, and that it would not happen — 'not though both the provinces of Rāgh and Nōṭar should arrive here together'; and the explanatory comment on these proper names is added, 'two provinces which are in Ātūr-pāṭakān, such as are sixty leagues (parasang, i.e. 210 to 240 miles) from Cīst.[3] Zaratūsht arose from Rāgh, and Vishtāsp from Nōṭar.' The rest of the passage and the Dīnkarṭ occurrences of the proverb have been given above (pp. 192–193), and should be consulted.

Rāgh (Av. Raghā) like Arabic Shīz is evidently a territorial designation as well as a town title, and certainly the Prophet's family on the maternal side came from there, if we are to place any reliance on tradition. Now, if the Prophet was born in a city of Ādarbaijān, whether in Urumiah, in the region of Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. Urumiah), or on the Darej River — and even Rāgh itself appears frequently in Pahlavi to have been regarded as a part of this land — it is by no means unlikely that a man with a mission like Zoroaster would have been drawn to so important a place as Raghā was in antiquity, especially if it was the home of his mother. All which would account for the association of the names together. An attempt has been made by the present writer, in *JAOS.* xv. p. 228–232, more fully to amplify this connection of Raghā with Zoroaster's teaching

[1] Cf. Spiegel, *Neriosengh's Skt. Uebersetz. des Yaçna*, Leipzig, 1861, p. 99.

[2] See Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 46, n.; Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 33; Darmesteter, *SBE.* iv. p. xlviii. (1st ed.).

[3] It is important to consult the footnote on p. 193.

and preaching, especially by an attempted explanation of the word *rajīš* in Ys. 53. 9.[1] But the passage and the commentary alike are difficult, and enough has been said already to show Zoroaster's connection with this region.

Conclusion as to Zoroaster's Native Place. — Zoroaster arose in western Iran. Apparently he was born somewhere in Ādarbaijān. The places specially mentioned are Urumiah, Shīz (Av. Caēcista, prob. anc. Urumiah) and the river Darej. His mother's family was connected with Raghā, which accounts for associating his name with that place; but it is not clear that this was the Median Raī (Ῥάγαι of the Greeks) although it was in the west. The latter seems to have been a district as well as town, and is sometimes regarded as a part of ancient Ātūr-pāṭakān. Zoroaster's youth was also certainly passed in western Iran.

II. SCENE OF ZOROASTER'S MINISTRY

General Remarks

The question regarding Zoroaster's native place may be looked upon as having been answered by placing it in western Iran, at least on the basis of present evidence and opinion. The question as to the scene or scenes of his religious activity, however, is a more unsettled problem. The uncertainty is doubtless due to the conditions of the case; missionary work by a reformer is not confined to a single field. Taking a general view, however, as stated on p. 186, scholars are divided between Media, in the broader sense, and Bactria, with a preponderance perhaps in favor of the former. The present writer has elsewhere maintained the ground that both sides of this question are possibly correct, in part, and that the conflicting views may be combined and reconciled on the theory that the reformer's native place was not necessarily the scene of his really successful prophetic mission.[2] In other words, the opinion was held that Zoroaster may have been a prophet without honor in his own country; that he arose, indeed, in western Iran, probably somewhere in Atropatene; that he presumably went at one time to

[1] First suggested by Geldner, *KZ.* xxviii. 202-203, and further discussed by the present writer in the article alluded to in the next note.

[2] Jackson, *Where was Zoroaster's Native Place?* *JAOS.* vol. xv. pp. 221-232, New Haven, 1891.

Raghā (perhaps Media Rhagiana), but on finding this an unfruitful field he turned at last to Bactria. Under the patronage of Vishtāspa, his faith became an organized state religion; and then it spread, possibly through religious crusades, westward to Media and Persia. Progress was rapid; the fire of religious zeal was contagious; the district of Raghā, which was once a hot-bed of heresy (*uparō-vīmanōhīm*), became the head of the established faith of Media. Persia follows suit when she rises into power. That at least was suggested at the time — in other words that we have an earlier instance of the same story as Mohammed, or Mecca and Medina.

Such a view, however, is mere theory or speculation, at least so far as Bactria and the exact spreading of the Creed is concerned. Nevertheless it is not speculation built entirely upon baseless fabric. It has this in its favor, that it is based upon a combination of various statements in Zoroastrian literature which may be united with Arabic and Syriac material, and with Latin and Greek references, so as to make, in part at least, a fairly solid structure. The assumption of a double scene for Zoroaster's life, first for his birth and earlier years, and second for his later years and death, has also been inferred by others, naturally from the tradition.[1] It has an advantage in saving several points of tradition which would otherwise fall; but it is open to several serious objections which will be pointed out as the investigation proceeds. For the present, it will be a better plan simply to bring forward both sides of the question, the eastern and the western view, and to reserve final decision for later. The Bactrian side will first be presented; the arguments in favor of Media will then be arrayed to offset this.

Before proceeding to the discussion, it is proper to recall that we have no direct evidence to prove that Zoroaster spent the first thirty years of his life anywhere but in his native land, if we assume that to be Ādarbaijān. At the age of thirty came the Revelation, the opening of his ministry, and the first of the seven visions that filled the ten or twelve years which elapsed until Maidhyōi-māonha adopted the creed, and King Vishtāspa was converted. The whole of this question has been examined in Chapter IV. As it was there stated

[1] So Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, T. i. pt. 2, pp. 5, 29. (Anquetil's *Mem. de l'Acad. des Bel. Lett.* T. xxxi. p. 370 seq., as noted also by Kanga, *Extracts*, p. 55.) A similar view (but with modification), Spiegel, *Eran. Altertumsk.* i. 708, ii. 171. On the other hand, notice what is said by Geiger, *OIK.* pp. 488–492.

we have information from the Dīnkarṭ (see pp. 43–46 above), that Zoroaster went and preached before the Turanian Aūrvāītā-dang after the first conference with Ormazd; furthermore, that he expounded the tenets of his faith to Parshaṭ-gāu in Sagastān. From this it is manifest that during the first two years he must, at all events, have been in the east, apparently both northeast and southeast, even if one maintains the view that Vishtāspa lived nearer to the region of his own native land.

This tradition of wanderings to remote lands is in keeping with the Gāthā psalm of dejection, *Kām nəmōi ząm, kuθrā nəmōi ayenī*, 'to what land am I to turn, whither am I to turn,' Ys. **46**. 1 seq. An echo of it, moreover, as already stated (p. 200), is perhaps to be recognized in Ibn al-Athīr, who recounts how Zoroaster goes from Ādarbaijān to Persia, then to India,[1] China, Turkestan, Ferghānah, and that he finally converts Vishtāspa, who seems in this account to be in the east. Perhaps these statements regarding India are due to Zoroaster's having been in Sagastān or Seistān (see also footnote below) which forms part of the territory of White India.[2] It may be noticed that Ammianus Marcellinus also makes Hystaspes (or is it Zoroaster) pass some time studying in India (see Appendix II., p. 167). So much for the two years that followed the first ecstatic vision, and which correspond to different scenes in Zoroaster's missionary labors!

By the close of this period, Zoroaster appears to have wended his way gradually back again toward his native country, as may be inferred from the different localities in which the visions of the next eight years took place. Consult the Map. The second, third, and fourth visions took place on the homeward route to the south of the Caspian Sea, if the identifications in Chapter IV. be correct. The fifth and sixth visions were beheld in the region of the river Dāityā and Mount Asnavant (Mount Sahend and the Ḳizel Ūzen; cf. pp. 41, 48). Finally, the last interview with the archangels was manifested to him at his own home on the river Darej (pp. 34, 49, 194), which would agree with the Avesta (Vd. **19**. 4, 11), as this vision is also associated with the temptation by Ahriman. But now for the Bactrian question!

[1] Is it Sagastān (Parshat-gāu) and Turan (Aūrvāītā-dang)? Cf. p. 39, n. 1 above. See also next note and references.

[2] On 'White India,' the provinces of Iran which border upon India, see Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 4, 13, n., and cf. above, pp. 44, n. 4, 72, n. 3, 87, n. 1, 178, and p. 210.

1. Bactria and the East, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in Eastern Iran

Irrespective of the question of the scene of Zoroaster's activity, the whole problem of the home of the Avesta itself, as a literary composition and religious work, has long been a common subject of discussion.[1] The assumption of a Bactrian kingdom which antedated the Median empire, or at least preceded the rise of the Achaemenian power, has generally been maintained by scholars, especially by the historian Duncker.[2] Criticisms of this view will be mentioned later; but it is important to notice that one of the strongest supporters of an eastern Iranian civilization, judging from geographical and ethnographical allusions in the Avesta, is the Iranist, Wilhelm Geiger.[3]

The Avesta itself does not give any definite statement with respect to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital, nor do the Pahlavi texts, to be discussed below, seem more explicit. Nevertheless, the Avestan geographical allusions tend to gravitate toward the east, rather than toward the west.[4] The heroic sagas of the royal line of kings in the Avestan Yashts are located for the most part in the east. According to the Zamyād Yasht (esp. Yt. 19. 66–69), the home of the Kavi dynasty is in Seistān, and this is important to consider because of its bearing on the claim for the east and for Bactria. Firdausī, a native of Ṭūs, moreover, places the scene of the Vishtāspa-Gushtāsp cycle in eastern and northeastern Iran, as will be more fully explained below.[5] According to Firdausī (Daḳīḳī), Yāḳūt, Mirkhond, and others, Balkh was founded by Vishtāsp's father, Lohrāsp.[6] On the Græco-Bactrian coins is found an

[1] For some bibliographical references, see p. 186.

[2] *Geschichte des Alterthums.* iv. 15 seq.; Nöldeke, *Persia*, in Encyclopædia Britannica, xviii. 561 (9th ed.); Tomaschek, *Baktria, Baktriane, Baktrianoi*, in Pauly's *Real-Encycl.* ii. col. 2806 seq. (neue Bearb.).

[3] *Ostiranische Kultur*, Erlangen, 1882; *Vaterland u. Zeitalter des Avesta* in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, May, 1894; *Grundriss d. iran. Phil.* ii. 389. This view is criticised by Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xxxv. 636, and rejected, *ZDMG.* xli. 292–296; cf. also in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschr.* N. F. 8. 1 seq. Again, it is opposed by de Harlez, *Das alter und Heimath des Avesta*, in *BB.* xii. 109 seq.; cf. also *Abh. d. Berliner Or. Congress*, ii. 270–277. The arguments in favor of Bactria from the classics are most strongly presented by Rapp, *ZDMG.* xix. 27–33 (1865).

[4] Geldner, *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 38.

[5] See also Nöldeke in *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 131.

[6] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. 224; Yāḳūt in Barbier de

APOOACΠO (i.e. Aurvaṭ-aspa, Lohrāsp), evidently as heros eponymos of the place.[1] Albīrūnī states that 'Balkh was the original residence of the Kayanians,' and Mirkhond speaks of Lohrāsp as 'the Bactrian.'[2] Ṭabarī similarly states that Lohrāsp 'established his residence at Balkh,' where he places the seat likewise of Lohrāsp's son and successor, Vishtāsp;[3] yet it must not be forgotten in this connection that Ṭabarī also considers Nebuchadnezzar and Cyrus to have been generals under Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp.[4] Masūdī joins in regarding Balkh as the royal capital until the seat of government was transferred westward to Irāḳ in the time of Hūmāī.[5] Other Persian and Arabic chroniclers and geographers place the seat of the Kayanian empire, at the time of Lohrāsp and Vishtāsp, in Bactria, i.e. to the north of Seistān, and there is a tradition about a portrait of Zoroaster at Balkh, as will be noticed in Appendix VII. The author of the Zartusht Nāmah and the Cangranghācah Nāmah, who was himself a native of Raī, localizes the scene of the meeting between Zoroaster and Vishtāsp in Balkh, where he also represents the famous debate between Zoroaster and the Brahman Cangranghācah to have taken place (cf. p. 85 seq. above). This is interesting when we consider that the writer came from the west and from a city which was so closely associated with Zoroaster's name; he must have had some strong tradition to that effect; his work, moreover, is known to be based upon Pahlavi authorities.[6] In the Dīnkarṭ, the meeting took place first on a 'race-course' (*aspānvar*), but the locality is not indicated, cf. p. 59, n. 2 above. From the Pahlavi treatise 'Wonders of Sagastān' it appears that at one time (perhaps after his conversion) Vishtāspa had conferences with Zoroaster and his apostles in Seistān—see passage translated below, p. 212.

Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 112; Mirkhond, *Hist. of Pers. Kings*, tr. Shea, London, 1832.

[1] See Tomaschek's article, *Baktria*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopaedie*, ii. col. 2812–2813. Consult Stein, *Zoroastrian Deities on Indo-Scythian Coins* in *Babyl. and Or. Record*, i. 157 seq.; notice a dissenting view by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* ii. 432.

[2] Albīrūnī, *Chronology*, tr. Sachau, p. 100, London, 1879, and Mirkhond, tr. Shea, pp. 59, 264, 272.

[3] Ṭabarī, *Chronique de Tabarī, traduite sur la version persane d'Abou-Alī Mo'hammed Bel'amī*, par Zotenberg, i. p. 491 seq.; cf. similar allusions in Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, pp. 36–40.

[4] Furthermore, for the destruction of Jerusalem by Lohrāsp (!), see Maīōg-ī khirat, 27. 64–67, tr. West, *SBE.* xxiv. 64–65, and Yāḳūt in Barbier de Meynard's *Dict. de la Perse*, p. 369. See also p. 91, n. 2 above.

[5] Maçoudi, *Les Prairies d'Or*, tr. Barbier de Meynard, ii. p. 120.

[6] *Zartusht Nāmah*, tr. Eastwick, in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 498.

To return to Firdausī. As mentioned above, the Shāh Nāmah connects Lohrāsp with Balkh, and describes how the youthful Vishtāsp quits the realm and passes the first years of his life in the west, in Rūm (the Byzantine Empire).[1] He returns from thence to assume the sceptre of authority. It is not specifically stated that the years which directly followed were actually passed in Balkh, but it is certain that the last part of his reign is regarded as being passed there. Lohrāsp himself lives there in retirement after Vishtāsp had mounted the throne, and the lapse of time is shown also by the fact that Zoroaster is now spoken of as an old man (Pers. *pīr*).[2] Perhaps Vishtāsp formed a link between the east and the west, if the texts seem to imply a break in the regular succession as he came to the throne; see p. 223, n. 1 below.

At this point we may turn again to our earlier Iranian sources. As previously observed, neither the Avesta nor the Pahlavi writings are explicit in their statements as to the situation of Vishtāspa's capital. The Dīnkarṭ, it is true, speaks several times of the 'abode' (*mān*), 'residence' (*babā*), or 'lofty residence' (*buland mānišnō*) of Vishtāsp, but there is nothing precise as to the location.[3] The general allusions to Nōṭar, moreover, have already been noticed above, p. 192, and they will be referred to again, p. 222. The nearest approach in the Avesta to a definite statement regarding Vishtāspa's whereabouts is found in two references to places where he offers sacrifice for victory in battle over Arejaṭ-aspa in the holy war of the Religion, or when on a religious crusade. One of these sacrifices is offered 'on the farther side of the water of Frazdānava' (Yt. **5**. 108, *pasne āpəm frazdānaom*) for victory over three unbelievers one of whom is the inveterate foe, Arejaṭ-aspa (Yt. **5**. 109, *Ṯaθryavantəm dužḍaēnəm | Pəšanəmca daēvayasnəm | drvantəmca Arəjaṭ-aspəm*).[4] But in Yt. **9**. 29 = Yt. **17**. 49, the same sacrifice is offered again by Vishtāspa for victory over exactly the same three foes, but including also the names of a number of other enemies; and (important to keep in mind) the sacrifice of this latter passage is not celebrated

[1] See pp. 72–73.

[2] See also Mohl, tr. iv. 293.

[3] Compare note on p. 58.

[4] It might possibly be suggested that we have in the name Tāthryavant a distant allusion to the Tantra philosophy of India; the Shāh Nāmah includes India among the lands to which Vishtāsp spread the gospel of Iran (cf. Mohl, iv. pp. 343–344; and above, p. 84 seq.; observe likewise Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* iii. Introd. p. 90). But such a conjecture could add little in favor of the eastern view.

near the Frazdānava, but is offered up on the farther side of the river Dāityā. Still further, Vishtāspa's brother Zairivairi (Zarīr), who is mentioned directly after Vishtāspa's sacrifice by the Frazdānava in the earlier passage, likewise offers similar worship on the same spot (Dāityā), with an identical wish (Yt. **5.** 112–113, *pasne āpō Dāityayā̊*); and directly afterwards in the same Yasht (Yt. **5.** 116) Arejaṯ-aspa invokes the same divinity near Vourukasha (Caspian Sea) for victory over Vishtāspa. This latter point will be taken up hereafter, pp. 212–213.

It is necessary to comment anew on the suggested identification of these places. From the discussion above, pp. 41, 197, it is to be inferred that the Dāityā was a sort of border stream in the west, to be identified with the Ḳizel Ūzen or Safēd Rūd. The river Ḳizel Ūzen is the classic Ἄμαρδος of Ptolemaeus, in Atropatene, and Andreas describes it as a natural 'markscheide.'[1] The Avestan word *pasne* is apparently used with a river name like the Latin usage of *trans* in Trans-Rhenanus (opp. Cis-Alpinus), compare the modern Iranian designation of Bīä-Pīš, 'before the rivers,' as opposed to Bīä-Päs, 'back of the rivers,' used in the adjoining territory of Gīlān.[2] The various streams which flow into the river to-day would answer to the tributaries of the Dāityā that are mentioned in the Dīnkarṯ and Zāṯ-sparam.[3] This is the river of the 'Law,' and the river which Zoroaster apparently crosses on his way to convert Vishtāsp.[4]

The Frazdānava, on the other hand, is to be sought in Seistān, in the east, if we accept the statement of the Būndahishn (Bd. **22.** 5), and is probably to be identified with the Āb-istādah lake, south of Ghaznī.[5] Being a member of the Kayanian line, Kavi Vishtāspa

[1] Andreas, *Amardos*, in Pauly's *Real-Encyl.*, neue Bearb., Stuttgart, 1894, vol. i. col. 1735, l. 44.

[2] Refer to Andreas, loc. cit. ll. 60–61, whose transcription 'Bïä-Pïš' is here followed. Cf. also de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, i. 209.

[3] Dk. **7.** 3. 51–56; Zsp. **21.** 5, **22.** 9. I believe that in Dk. **7.** 20. 30, we are to read *mayā-ī x̌ēṯ* (not *Dāit*), as noted by West, *SBE.* xlvii. 25, n. 2, and compare the Shēṯ river of Bd. **20.** 7, *SBE.* v. 77; although there would be no real inconsistency in Dāit, as contrasted with Pourushaspa's dwelling on the Darej, as that may have been the home to which he removed after his marriage; see suggestion on p. 192.

[4] Zartusht Nāmah, p. 491.

[5] This view is opposed to Lagarde's *Hṛazdān* in Armenia (*Beiträge zur baktr. Lex.* p. 28), but I agree with Geiger's estimate of Hṛazdān in *OIK.* p. 108. The identification of Frazdānava with *Āb-istādah* is mentioned by West (*SBE.* v. 86, n. 3) as being from Justi (see his *Handb. der Zendsprache*, p. 197 b), although Justi now seems

is naturally associated with Seistān and Lake Frazdān. The Pahlavi treatise, 'Wonders of the Land of Sagastān,' makes Seistān the place of Vishtāsp's first religious propaganda, and apparently also a place where Vishtāsp conferred with Zoroaster and other apostles of the Faith, on matters of religious importance.[1] I am indebted to Dr. West's kindness for a translation of the 'Wonders'; the passage (Wond. of Sag. § 6) reads: 'King Vishtāsp produced the progress of religion on Lake Frazdān, first in Sagastān, and afterwards in the other provinces; also King Vishtāsp, in conference with Zaratūsht, and Sēnō, son of Ahūmstūt of Būst,[2] because his disciples of Zaratūsht have been the first in his long discipleship, (made) the various Nasks proceed in a family of the good, for the purpose of keeping the religion of Sagastān progressive for being taught.' We remember also that Zoroaster went in his earlier years to Seistān to preach to Parshaṭ-gāu (pp. 44–45). According to Firdausī, King Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) was engaged upon a religious crusade in Seistān and Zabūlistān,[3] and was at the abode of the old hero Rustam, who still held out against conversion to Zoroastrianism, when the Turanians under Arjāsp stormed Balkh, slew Lohrāsp in battle before the walls, and killed Zoroaster.[4] Vishtāsp returns from Seistān for the finally routing of Arjāsp.[5]

It must be acknowledged that the twofold sacrifice by Vishtāsp, once on the Frazdānava and once on the Dāityā, causes some difficulty in connection with the identification of scenes in the Holy Wars. As already observed, the Frazdānava sacrifice, when placed in Seistān, certainly refers to the second and final invasion. The

rather to incline toward the view of Hṛazdān in Armenia, judging from *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, pp. 256–257. Geiger, *OIK.* p. 108, notices the identification of Frazdānava with the Ābistādah, but he prefers to explain the matter differently.

[1] See West in *Gdr. d. iran. Phil.* ii. 118.

[2] Dr. West notes that this place is described by the pseudo Ibn-Ḥauḳal as on the river Hērmand, between Ghōr and the lake (see Ouseley's *Oriental Geography*, p. 206); it was therefore in Seistān.

[3] Cf. Mohl, tr. iv. pp. 355, 456; and also Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, Bonn, 1831, p. 97 and p. 125, n. 52.

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. pp. 1559–1560; but there is some uncertainty owing to a variation in the reading. Thus, *Kih īn hērbadrā kih kušt;* and again, *cirā hērbadrā bikušt;* but a few lines further on (p. 1560) the death is proved by *hērbadrā hamah sar zadand.*

[5] Mohl, iv. 354, 355, 365.

Dāityā sacrifice, we may presume, refers to the first invasion, if we make the twofold division mentioned on p. 105; but it is not easy to reconcile this with the assumption that the scenes of the first war belong rather to the territory of Merv (p. 114). Perhaps the Dāityā sacrifice is not to be pressed as referring to a special incident, and perhaps the prayer was general; or Vishtāsp was crusading in the west at the time; history offers examples of a Christian king of Europe offering up his prayers in the land of the Saracens. Darmesteter[1] does not seem to think it imperative to take the Dāityā sacrifice too seriously in the face of the Frazdānava passage which gives a scene located in Seistān; or, he thinks, the Dāityā allusion may be a reminiscence of the Median origin of Vishtāspa himself. Nevertheless, there is a certain discrepancy which must fairly be noticed, and having stated the difficulty we may turn to such arguments as can be brought up to show that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṯ-aspa, belongs rather to the east than to the west. This introduces the problem of the situation of Arejaṯ-aspa's kingdom, and the scene of the Holy Wars already alluded to.

In the Avesta, Arejaṯ-aspa is a Hyaonian (Av. *Hyaona*, Phl. *Xyōn*).[2] The name *hyaona*, according to the ordinarily accepted view, is identical with the nation of the classic Chionitæ.[3] The identification, however, has been doubted by some. The subject is commented on by Darmesteter,[4] and especially by Geiger, and both of these scholars think (as well as Justi, see footnote) that there is authority also for the tradition which places the Hyaonians toward the east, even if they were located in the Gīlān territory in the time of Ammianus Marcellinus (**19**. 1. 2). The Shāh Nāmah tradition certainly looks upon Arjāsp as a Turanian, and places his kingdom on the other side of the Jīhūn (Oxus), and it makes him despatch envoys from the city of Khallakh to Vishtāsp (Gushtāsp) in Balkh.[5] In the native lexicons, according to Vullers, Khallakh or Khallukh

[1] *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii.

[2] See Yt. **9**. 30–31, **17**. 50–51, **19**. 87, and the references on p. 104, n. 2.

[3] Spiegel in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, p. 18; also other writers as noted below.

[4] Darmesteter does not seem certain of it in *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii seq.; cf. also Geiger in *Sitzb. d. K. B. Acad.*, 1884, p. 328 seq., and in his *Yātkār* in *Sitzb.*, Mai, 1890, p. 75. Justi allows also the possibility of placing the Hyaonians in the east on the authority of Joshua the Stylite; see *Preuss. Jahrb.* Bd. 88, p. 256; but Justi favors the west.

[5] Firdausī, *Livre des Rois*, tr. Mohl, iv. pp. 302, 303, 319, 326 bis, 342, 360, 441, 459, 543, 558.

(خلّخ) is described as 'a great city in Turkestān in the district of Khaṭāī.'[1] In any case, it is evident that the kingdoms of Arjāsp and Vishtāsp cannot have been far separated from each other. The question of the invasion or invasions may now be taken up.

According to the sources which the Shāh Nāmah must have made use of (and we may infer the same from the Dīnkarṭ and Zāṭ-sparam)[2] there were, apparently, two separate invasions by Arjāsp, although the Avesta seems to speak of the war singly as 'the War of Religion.' The special chapter above on this subject (Chap. IX.) should be consulted. The Yāṭkār-ī Zarīrān alludes only to what we may regard as the first of Arjāsp's wars, and lays the scene in the neighborhood of the plain of Merv.[3] Similarly, in this connection, the Shāh Nāmah speaks of the Jīhūn or Oxus, and the territory adjacent[4] (consult the Map). The scene of the battles of the second war was Khorassān, if we follow the Shāh Nāmah and notice an incidental allusion in the Būndahishn.[5] The circumstances of Arjāsp's second invasion need not be repeated; see Chapter IX. If we follow the Shāh Nāmah we may presume that Vishtāspa, after receiving news of the storming of Balkh, started from Seistān to join the forces of his son, Farshīdvard, whom he had appointed ruler of Khorassān. The first meeting between Vishtāsp and the invader Arjāsp may therefore have resulted in an engagement in Khorassān. From Firdausī, we may judge that this opening engagement of the second war, which is evidently counted as a part of the Balkh misfortune, was not successful for the Iranians.[6] An attempt may be made to locate the scene.

Now, the Bahman Yasht (**3.** 9), when speaking of three distinct times of crisis and trial in the history of the Religion, says: 'the second was when thou, O Zaratūsht the Spītāmān! receivedst the Religion, and hadst thy conference, and King Vishtāsp and Arjāsp, miscreated by Wrath, were, through the War of the Religion, in the combat of Spēṯ-razhūr ("the hoary forest");' and the text adds a

[1] Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, p. 121, where the Persian is quoted, and *Lexicon Persicum*, i. 706, 714. See also Steingass, *Persian-English Dictionary*, pp. 467, 471.

[2] See chronological scheme by West, *SBE.* xlvii. p. xxx.; cf. Appendix III.

[3] YZ. § 12.

[4] Mohl, tr. iv. 309.

[5] Bd. **12.** 32–34, given in full on p. 216.

[6] Notice that the Būndahishn (Bd. **12.** 33) acknowledges an occasion where there was 'confusion among the Iranians,' but they were 'saved'; cf. p. 216 below.

comment: 'some have said it was in Pārs.'[1] The Avesta mentions the 'White Forest,' but not in connection with Arejaṭ-aspa's name. The *Spaēitita Razura* in the Avesta, is the amphitheatre of the great conflict between the earlier Iranian king, Haosrava, and his enemy, Aurvasāra.[2] According to Justi, the White Forest is in Kohistān, a part of Khorassān (lat. 33, long. 59; consult Map), between Ḳāīn and Birjand.[3] As a mere conjecture, in order to endeavor to reconcile difficulties, it might be suggested that we have here an allusion, perhaps, to the engagement that preceded the last in the war. In other words, as the White Forest seems to have been a designation covering a good deal of territory, it might be argued that Vishtāsp pushed onward, then northward to the mountains of Nīshāpūr and Mesh-hed, not far from the high citadel where his son Isfendīār was confined.

This citadel, as related by the Shāh Nāmah, was the mountain fortress of Gumbadān or Gunbedān (گنبدان).[4] Its location is in Khorassān,[5] for this fastness of Isfendīār is evidently Mount Spentō-dāta of the Avesta (Yt. **19.** 6), and Spend-yāṭ of the Pahlavi (Bd. **12.** 2, 23), situated on the 'Var of Rēvand,' which latter has been identified with the Bār mountains, northwest of Nīshāpūr, in an interesting article by Houtum-Schindler.[6] The Būndahishn adds details of the battle that enable us still further to locate the scene where Vishtāsp himself had to take refuge in a mountain in Khorassān, where he was beleaguered,[7] until the heroic Isfendīār is released from his chains and gains the victory. All this has been described above (p. 119 seq.), but the Būndahishn passage is important enough to repeat it again in full:—

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 218. As for the usage of 'Pārs,' it must be remembered that Sagastān itself is spoken of as a part of Pārs in Pahlavi literature (Bd. **12.** 9, **20.** 29; see *SBE.* v. pp. 37, 81).

[2] Yt. **15.** 31–32; cf. Yt. **5.** 49–50; Yt. **19.** 77.

[3] Justi, *Namenbuch*, p. 42, 'Aurwasāra, König am Weissen Wald, d. i. Dascht-i Beyāṭ im Kōhistān von Qāīn und Birjand, Gegner des Kawa Husrawa (Kai Xusrau), Yt. **15.** 31. Syāwašnāmeh, 252.'

[4] *Shāh Nāmah*, ed. Vullers-Landauer, iii. p. 1550, l. 156; cf. traduction de Mohl, iv. pp. 354, 370, 456.

[5] But Mirkhond (tr. Shea, p. 290) says he was 'imprisoned in the Fortress of Girdkūh, in the district of Rūdbār.' To which Shea adds, stating that Rūdbār is a district of the Jebal or Irak Ajemī.

[6] *The Identification of Some Persian Places*, in *The Academy*, No. 730, p. 312 seq., May 1, 1886; cf. also Justi, *Hdbch. d. Zendsprache*, p. 305.

[7] For allusions to the 'mountain,'

Bd. **12.** 17–18: 'The Padashkhvārgar mountain is that which is in Taparīstān and the side of Gīlān. The Rēvand mountain is in Khūrāsān, on which the Būrzhīn fire was established. (32–34): From the same Padashkhvārgar mountain unto Mount Kūmīsh, which they call Mount Madōfryāṯ ("Come-to-help") — that in which Vishtāsp routed Arjāsp — is Mount Mīyān-i-dasht ("mid-plain"), and was broken off from that mountain there. They say, in the War of the Religion, when there was confusion among the Iranians it broke off from that mountain, and slid down into the middle of the plain; the Iranians were saved by it, and it was called "Come-to-help" by them. The Ganāvaṯ mountain is likewise there, on the Ridge of Vishtāsp (*pūšt-i Vištāspān*) at the abode of the Būrzhīn-Mitrō fire, nine leagues to the west.'[1] Mount Madōfryāṯ (Come-to-help) has been identified by Houtum-Schindler with the mountain near the present town of Farīūmad, northward of the high road between Abbāsābād and Mazīnān, and it is thus evidently a part of the Jagatai range.[2] The Ridge of Vishtāsp may be identical with the mountains, Binalūd Kuh, running northwest from Nīshāpūr, a little to the west of the modern Gunābad (lat. 36. 40; long. 59. 5 — see Map). The region where the final battle took place, with the utter rout of Arjāsp and the triumph of Iran over Turan, may be regarded as occupying a territory to the east of Mīān-i-dasht in Khorassān (lat. 36. 30; long. 56. 10 — see Map, square Gb). The caravan road between Mīān-i-dasht and Zaidar is still famous to-day for marauding attacks of the Turkomans upon pilgrims and travellers.[3]

The location of the sacred fires may be taken up in this connection. Vishtāsp's special fire, Būrzhīn Mitrō, is in Khorassān as already discussed in the pages devoted to the subject of the Sacred Fires (Chap. VIII.). From the passage just quoted (Bd. **12.** 17–18, 32–34) and from Bd. **17.** 8 there seems to remain little doubt on that point. The Shāh Nāmah implies a similar location, and three Mohammedan writers state that the special fire of Zoroaster, which is the Būrhzīn Mitrō, was in the neighborhood of Nīshāpūr. For the references, see p. 100. But more important still in connection with

cf. Mohl, *Livre des Rois*, iv. 367, 370, 373, 384.

[1] West, *SBE.* v. 40-41.

[2] See *The Academy*, p. 313, May 1, 1886. The town is easily located (lat. 36–37; long. 56–57) on the map in Curzon's *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. p. 245.

[3] Curzon, *Persia and the Persian Question*, i. 276–277, 280–281.

the ancient pyraea of Zoroastrianism, is the tradition of the Būndahishn (Bd. 17. 6) regarding the second famous fire, the fire Frōbak (Farnbag). This fire originally was located in Khorasmia or Chorasmia (Phl. *Khvārižem*) on the eastern side of the Caspian Sea — the region of igneous oil fountains, and it was removed by Vishtāsp to the east, to Cabul, or as the text reads: 'In the reign of King Vishtāsp, upon revelation from the religion, it was established out of Khvārizem, at the Rōshan ("shining") mountain in Kāvulistān, the country of Kāvul (Kābul), just as it remains there even now.'[1] This latter would make another distinct association of Vishtāsp with the east.[2]

In addition to the central or eastern location of two of the sacred fires which are directly connected with Vishtāsp's name, we may also recall the story of the cypress which Zoroaster planted to commemorate the event of Vishtāsp's conversion. This hallowed tree was planted at Kishmar in Khorassān, and it is spoken of in the Shāh Nāmah as 'the cypress of Kishmar.'[3] It must also be remembered that, according to the Shāh Namah, Khorassān was under the suzerainty of one of Vishtāsp's sons, as well as it was the amphitheatre of the final Holy War.

These latter points are of interest also in connection with Floigl's claim that Vishtāspa, of the Avesta, is identical with the historical Hystaspes, father of Darius; and that he belonged in the region of Hyrcania and ancient Parthia. Floigl's monograph should be consulted.[4]

It may incidentally be added that the Armenian historian, Thomas Arzrounī (A.D. tenth century) follows the tradition that Zoroaster was the opponent of Ninus and Semiramis and was defeated by them, but Semiramis made him commander of Babylon, Khoujīstān, and of all eastern Persia, and he adds, 'Zradasht, although possessing the countries to the east of Persia, did not cease to harass Assyria.'[5] This would associate him also with the east.

[1] Bd. 17. 6, tr. West, *SBE.* v. 63.

[2] It must be stated, however, that the reading *Kāvul* (*Kābul*) is questioned by Darmesteter, *Le ZA.* i. 154; and see the discussion above in Chap. VIII. p. 99, n. 4.

[3] *Sarv-i Kišmar;* see Vullers-Landauer, *Shah Name*, iii. 1498–1499, and Mohl, iv. 292–293; cf. also Appendix II., pp. 163–164.

[4] Floigl, *Cyrus und Herodot*, Leipzig, 1881, e.g. pp. 14, 15, 17, etc.

[5] See Brosset, *Collection d'Historiens arméniens*, i. 30, St. Pétersbourg, 1874. See Appendix VI. § 1 below.

Furthermore, it should be noticed that Mills upholds the eastern region, at least as the place of origin of the Gāthās.[1] He reviews some of the indications which point to the west, as presented by Darmesteter; but after examining into the character of the civilization, and noticing points of Indo-Iranian unity and likeness to the Veda, and judging also from the spirit of the Gāthās, whose antiquity he emphasizes, Mills is led to believe that 'the scene of the Gāthic and original Zoroastrianism was in the northeast of Iran, and that the later Avesta was composed during the hundreds of years during which the Zarathushtrian tribes were migrating westward into Media.'[2] A discussion of the Avestan calendar led the Sanskrit scholar Roth strongly to support Bactria.[3] The younger Iranist Horn favors eastern Iran as the first scene, at least, of Zoroastrianism.[4] On the views of Tiele, see note below.[5]

Résumé of the Eastern View. —Among various points that may be brought up in favor of placing Vishtāspa in eastern Iran, and of believing that Zoroaster's prophetic career, at least, was associated chiefly with that territory, is the predominance of geographical allusions in the Avesta rather to eastern Iran. The Avesta does not state where Kavi Vishtāspa's kingdom was located; but it recognizes that the Kavi dynasty came from Seistān (Yt. **19.** 66 seq.). The Iranian tradition which is found in Mohammedan writers is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in the east, in Bactria. Among arguments which may be drawn from Pahlavi literature is the fact that the Būndahishn clearly locates the scene of the routing of Arjāsp in the territory of Khorassān. One of the sacred

[1] *SBE.* xxxi. Introd. pp. xxvii–xxx.

[2] Op. cit. p. xxvii.

[3] Roth, *Der Kalender des Avesta*, u. s. w., in *ZDMG.* xxiv. 1–24; cf. especially pp. 16–19 (criticised by de Harlez; see p. 219 below).

[4] Horn, *Die Reiche der Meder und Perser*, in Hellwaldt's *Kulturgeschichte*, 4 Aufl. i. 322.

[5] Tiele, in his early work entitled *De Godsdienst van Zarathustra, van haar ontstaan in Baktrië tot den val van het Oud-Perzische Rijk* (Haarlem, 1864), maintained the Bactrian view that was common at the time. So also in the genealogical table in his article 'Religions,' in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, vol. xx. p. 360 (9th ed.), and in his *Geschiedenis van den Godsdienst*, p. 174 (Amsterdam, 1876). But now, if I understand his latest view aright, he believes in northwestern Iran as the cradle at least of the Zoroastrian Reform: 'Ook ik neig zeer tot de meening dat de zarathuštrische hervorming van noordwestelijk Irān is uitgegan' (*Iets over de oudheid van het Avesta, Aanteekening*, in *Mededeeling d. K. Ak.* 3 de Reeks, Deel XI. Amsterdam, 1895, pp. 384 and 375).

fires is connected with Khorassān; another was removed from Khorasmia to the east. And now that so much has been said in favor of eastern Iran, including Bactria, we may pass without comment to the west and consider the claims of Media.

2. Media and the West, or the View that Zoroaster's Ministry was in his Native Country, Western Iran

It has been indicated sufficiently that a number of specialists, de Harlez, Spiegel, Justi, and others, associate the earliest history of Zoroastrianism not with Bactria and the east, but alone with Media, in its broad sense, and the west.

C. de Harlez, for example, in treating of the origin and home of the Avesta, as noted above, leaves eastern Iran out of consideration.[1] His discussion of the subject should be read; there is space here only to outline the reasons which lead him to confine the Avesta and Zoroastrianism to Media. I summarize them from the last article mentioned in the footnote: (1) Zoroastrianism and the Avesta is the work of the Magi, a tribe of Media, and the Magi are the Atharvans (πύραιθοι) of the Avesta. (2) The chief seat of the religion was the southern and southeastern coast of the Caspian Sea, as shown by the peculiar manner in which the peoples of the Caspian region and Hyrcania dispose of their dead. (3) Raghā in Media was the chief seat of the priesthood, and Media, therefore, was the centre of the Avestan religion. (4) The legend which makes Bactria the cradle of Zoroaster's faith, and claims that Vishtāspa was king and ruler of Bactria, is late; it comes, in fact, from mediæval times. Eastern Iran, in general, remains in the background until the time of the Achaemenidae.[2] Finally (5), the Parsi books themselves regard Zoroaster as arising from Media; and, even though many mediæval sources connect Vishtāsp with Bactria, as mentioned, there is not entire consistency in this, for some of them place him in Persis. The epitomist Khvāndamīr, for example, in his life of Gushtāsp,[3] says that this king had the city of Istakhr

[1] See de Harlez's definite statements on *Das alter und heimath des Avesta* in *BB.* xii. 109–111, and *Der Avestische Kalender und die Heimath der Avesta-Religion*, in *Abh. d. Berl. Or. Congr.* ii. 270–277, Berlin, 1882 (criticising Roth).

[2] For the latter statement, cf. *BB.* xii. 110.

[3] See de Harlez, *Av. Kalender und Heimath*, p. 277; Spiegel, *EA.* i. 698; and Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 318 (1st ed.); Ethé in *Grundriss d. iran. Philol.* ii. 356.

(Persepolis) as a royal seat — *Istakhr-i Fārs rā dār al-mulk kardādīd.* Again, Beiḍāwī (*Life of Gushtāsp*) says that Zardūsht occupied a mountain, Naphaht, near Istakhr.[1] And Majdī (*Zīnat al-Majālis*), after assuming that Zoroaster came from Palestine, adds that he gave himself out as a prophet in Ādarbaijān.[2] For these various reasons de Harlez concludes: 'Alles erklärt sich, wenn man unterstellt, dass der Zoroastrismus aus Medien stammt; Alles wird dunkel, wenn man dessen Wiege in Baktrien sucht.'

Spiegel has two or three times specially treated the question of the home of the Avesta and its bearing upon the Zoroastrian problem.[3] In his historical article on Vishtāspa and the Bactrian kingdom, in Sybel's *Zeitschrift*, he brings up most of the points that may be argued in favor of the east, — and these are such as have been stated above; he then weighs the west over against them. He particularly emphasizes the identification of Arejaṯ-aspa's nation, the Hyaona, with the Chionitæ, who are to be placed, it is claimed, to the west of the Caspian Sea. Again, he approves rather of de Lagarde's identification of the name and locality, Frazdānava, with the Armenian river Hṛazdān; and he points out some other names that refer especially to the west. As a result of this, although 'Baktra' is mentioned in the title of his monograph, he inclines to favor Media or Arran, rather than Bactria, as the realm of Vishtāspa and also as the home of Zoroaster. In his latest article on the subject (*ZDMG.* xlv. 280 seq., 1887), Spiegel points out one or two more points to strengthen the western view. An allusion to Armenia, for example, is claimed to be found in the Avesta (Yt. 5. 72). He draws attention also to the association of Hystaspes' name with Media and the west, by Chares of Mitylene (cf. p. 73 above),[4] and by Lactantius, who makes Hystaspes a king of Media (p. 154 above); and he throws renewed doubts upon the existence of the Bactrian kingdom maintained by Duncker.[5]

Several other scholars are of like opinion regarding Media and

[1] See also Hyde, p. 313. Reference to Istakhr (Persepolis) has been made above, pp. 91, 97.

[2] See also Hyde, p. 315.

[3] Spiegel, *Vistaçpa oder Hystaspes und das Reich von Baktra*, in Sybel's *Histor. Zeitschrift*, N. F. 8, Bd. 44, pp. 1–21 (1880). Also *Ueber das Vaterland und Zeitalter des Awestā*, in *Sitzb. der K. B. Acad.* 1884, p. 315 seq. (1884). Again, ibid. (Zweiter Artikel) in *ZDMG.* xlv. 187 seq. (1891).

[4] Cf. also his later remarks in *ZDMG.* xli. 295 (1887), xlv. 197 (1891), lii. 193 (1898).

[5] *ZDMG.* xli. 288, 289, 292 seq.

western Iran. Eugen Wilhelm upholds Spiegel's identification of the Hyaonians with the Chionitæ and locates them on the west side of the Caspian Sea. The associated Avestan word *varəδaka* (Yt. **9**. 31 = Yt. **17**. 51) is likewise a proper name, i.e. Varedhaka, cf. Vertae, of Ammianus Marcellinus; and Av. *hunu* (Yt. **5**. 54) designates the Huns.[1] Lehmann expresses his opinion very strongly that the ancient Vishtāspa was not a Bactrian prince, but that he ruled in western Iran, in Media; that Zoroaster had nothing whatsoever to do with Bactria, where the crude civilization of his time would have been unsuited for his teaching, but that Media furnished exactly the soil that was needed for it to bear fruit.[2] Darmesteter several times expressed himself in favor of the west for the entire scene of early Zoroastrianism, because he considered the Bactrian tradition rather to be late.[3]

Justi. The most recent authority to touch upon the question and to uphold the western view is Justi (*Die älteste iranische Religion und ihr Stifter Zarathushtra*).[4] A brief summary of the deductions on this point in his important treatise is given. The numbered divisions are my own: —

1. The Avesta itself does not place either the home of Zoroaster or the kingdom of Vishtāspa in Bactria, nor mention either name in alluding incidentally to the city of Bactria. The rise of the Bactrian kingdom was post-Achaemenian. The transferrence of Vishtāspa's capital to Bactria, as is done in later times, is purely artificial. Spiegel's arguments are sufficient to overthrow the whole theory of a Bactrian origin of the Iranian religion.

2. The allusions to the sacrifices by Vishtāspa and Zairivairi on the Frazdānava and Dāityā, and to Arejaṭ-aspa as a Hyaona, are examined in their eastern aspect and in the western light. In Justi's opinion the Dāityā may be the Araxes on the northern boundary of Ādarbaijān, and the Frazdānava is more likely, perhaps, to be the Armenian Hṛazdān. Acts of worship performed in the Ādarbaijān territory would be appropriate to Iranians.

[1] Wilhelm, *ZDMG.* xlii. 96–101.

[2] Edv. Lehmann, *Die Perser* in Chantepie de la Saussaye, *Lehrbuch der Religions-Geschichte* (neue Aufl.) ii. 159–160. See also his comment on Phraortes, p. 156.

[3] Darmesteter, *Études Iraniennes*, i. 10–13; *Zend-Avesta*, tr. *SBE.* iv. Introd. xlvii–liii (1st ed.); and his later statement, p. lxvii (2d ed.), together with *Le ZA.* iii. p. lxxxiii, where numerous suggestions and hints are given.

[4] In *Preussische Jahrbücher*, Bd. 88, p. 255 seq., 1897.

More weight also is laid on the likelihood of the Chionitæ being placed in the Caucasus region and Gīlān. Like the later Huns, the invasion of Arejaṭ-aspa may have been made through the mountainous country to the west of the Caspian Sea.

3. It is notable that of the three most sacred fires one (Ādhar Gushnasp) belongs originally to Ādarbaijān, one (Ādhar Xurrah, or Farnbag) to Persis (Istakhr), and one (Ādhar Būrzhīn Mithr) to Khorassān, but none to Bactria. Yet see note at foot of this page.[1]

4. Media was the native place of Zoroaster, and it was also the home and realm of Vishtāspa. But Kavi Vishtāspa was not a great king, not a 'king of kings' (Anc. Pers. *xšāyaθiya xšāyaθiyānām*); he was rather a minor prince (*daiźhupaiti*) of Median Raghā. The suggestion is conjecturally put forward that we might, perhaps, assume that some great king of Media later accepted the religion and made it current in the world. Such a monarch would have been the Median Fraoreta (Phraortes) 'Confessor,' who may have adopted the faith and have thus received a Zoroastrian name. The father of Phraortes also had a Zoroastrian name as he was called Kyaxares (i.e. Huvaxšatara), beside his ordinary title Dahyauka.

5. Finally, by way of illustration, Atropates and his successors in Atropatene were zealous adherents of Zoroastrianism from Achaemenian times, and the Gāthās themselves show a religious intolerance that still remains typical of the Magi in Sassanian times, and is characteristic of the fanaticism that marks the later Assassins who likewise had their origin in Atropatene.[2] I may also add that Justi wrote me that it was only after long and careful consideration that he came to these conclusions and abandoned the view that Bactria was the home of Zoroastrianism or that Zoroaster perished there.[3]

Additional Arguments. — Some other arguments might be added to these already given in support of the west. For example:—

1. Vishtāspa and Hutaosa in the Avesta both were Naotairyans. The comment in Zāṭ-sparam places Nōṭar in the west, sixty leagues from Cīst, as explained above (p. 193, n. 1). If Vishtāsp be asso-

[1] Justi, op. cit. p. 257; but with regard to the Farnbag fire he seems to have overlooked the statement in Bd. 17. 6; see p. 99, n. 4 and p. 217 above. The question whether Bactria has any volcanic or petroleum fires might account for their not generally being connected with that particular region.

[2] Cf. op. cit. pp. 259, 256.

[3] Letters dated Jan. 8, 1897, and June 12, 1897.

ciated with Balkh, one would then have to assume that only his family came from the west. It is true that this might be quite possible in royal lines, and there actually seems to have been some change of dynasty or break in the succession when Vishtāsp came to the throne, as noted by Justi,[1] so this argument would not necessarily militate finally against the east; it is only a matter of proportionate probability. On account of the Rāgh and Nōṯar allusion it would be convenient to accept Vishtāsp as also belonging to the west.

2. The two Avestan Yasht fragments (Yt. **23**. 4, **24**. 2) give among the blessings which Zoroaster wished might accrue to Vishtāspa the boon: 'Mayest thou be able to reach the Raŋha, whose shores lie afar, as Vafra Navaza was able.' According to Darmesteter the circumambient stream Raŋha in the Avesta is to be identified with the Tigris.[2] This might, therefore, be used as a ground for placing Vishtāspa's kingdom in the west, but not necessarily so; the wish of a wide-extended kingdom might hold equally good if the star of Vishtāsp's empire were moving from the east westward.

3. As the Avesta constantly speaks of idolaters, unbelievers, devil-worshippers (*daēva-yasna*) it might be suggested that Zoroaster's reform was especially directed against the Yezīdīs, or devil worshippers, of the region about the Caspian Sea.[3]

4. Arejaṯ-aspa as noted above, p. 211, is represented in the Avesta (Yt. **5**. 116) as offering sacrifice near the sea Vourukasha (the Caspian Sea) — *upa zrayō vouru-kašəm* — asking for victory over Vishtāspa and (later addition) Zairivairi.[4] It might be claimed that we have Vishtāspa's enemy not only on the Caspian Sea, but possibly on the west side of it, although the expression with *upa* might equally refer to the eastern side of the Caspian which is still occupied by Turkomans.

5. A somewhat fanciful conjecture might be made that we may

[1] Justi, op. cit., pp. 246, 252, on a possible change of dynasty, and Spiegel, *ZDMG.* xlv. 196–198. Cf. p. 70, n. 2 above.

[2] *Le ZA.* ii. 382, n. 73, 78; but Geiger, *OIK.* map, makes Raŋha the Yaxartes.

[3] On the Yezīdīs, see Browne, *A Year Amongst the Persians*, p. 522, London, 1893; Bassett, *Persia, the Land of the Imams*, pp. 31–33, New York, 1886.

[4] The mention of Zairivairi would imply that the first invasion is intended if we follow the division into two wars, p. 105. Notice may here be taken of what is said of Zariadres and his realm on p. 73 above.

perhaps have an allusion to the west (possibly Persepolis?) in the Dīnkarṭ reference to the 'treasury of Shapīgan' (or Shaspīgān, Shapān, or Shīzigān — for such are the readings allowed by the MSS.), in which Vishtāsp deposited the original codex of the Avesta.[1] As further related in the Dīnkarṭ this fell into the hands of the Greeks and was translated into their tongue. The treasury of the archives is usually associated with Persepolis.[2]

6. Hamzah of Isfahān connects Vishtāsp with Persia, for he makes him build a city in the district of Dārābjard in the province of Persia.[3]

Résumé of the Western View. — The more general claim in favor of western Iran is, that the religion was probably developed in the country where Zoroaster himself arose; that in his day Bactria was still in the earliest stages of civilization and its name is not connected either with his or with Vishtāsp's in the older texts; that Media, on the other hand, would have been a suitable field for his teaching and that the allusions to the west give a more consistent theory for ancient times. It is claimed, moreover, that Vishtāspa's foe, Arejaṭ-aspa, belonged to western Iran, on the ground of identifying the Hyaona with the classic Chionitæ and of placing these in the Caspian region. Finally, Vishtāspa was a minor king, and it is possible that the Median ruler Fraortes ('Confessor') may have made Zoroastrianism the national religion of Media. The devil-worshippers of the Avesta would answer to the later Yezīdīs of the western territory.

General Summary

Although we may agree that Zoroaster by birth arose in western Iran, we cannot be equally sure that the chief seat of his activity was also there. Both sides of the latter question have been presented, as were the former. The classical references (as early as the second century A.D.) would imply the possibility of Bactria or the

[1] Dk. 3. § 3, 7. 7. 3, n., 5. 3. 4; *SBE.* xxxvii. p. xxxi; *SBE.* xlvii. pp. 82, 127.

[2] See also Ṭabarī (p. 675, Leyden ed.): 'Bishāsp sent this (archetype) to a place in Istakhr called Darbīsht' (vocalization uncertain), Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster*, p. 37. The same is repeated from Ṭabarī by Bundarī (with reading *Zarbīsht?*) in Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* pp. 314–315. See also above, Chap. VIII., p. 97.

[3] See Hamzah, ed. Gottwaldt, ii. 26, and cf. Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Geiger's Eastern Iranians*, ii. 212, note by Spiegel.

east, as a scene, as well as of Media (Persia) and the west. This fact might be interpreted that he taught in the east, though he arose in the west. The Avesta does not decide the case. An allusion to the scene of Vishtāspa's two sacrifices may equally refer to Seistān, and to Media and Atropatene. From evidence in Pahlavi literature, we know that Zoroaster himself was in Seistān for a while, during the early part of his prophetic career. From the same source we also know he was in Turan, and the Gāthās allude to a Turanian adherent. This would seem to speak, in part at least, for eastern Iran, even if his patron Vishtāspa ruled in western Iran. From the Pahlavi and later Zoroastrian literature, the scenes of the Holy Wars would appear to have been located rather toward the east, in Merv and Khorassān. On the other hand, the silence of the Avesta on some vital points in connection with the east, together with an inference that Vishtāspa belonged to the same country as Zoroaster, and spoke the same dialect, would argue rather in behalf of western Iran. This latter view would be strengthened if the existence of a Bactrian kingdom at an early period be doubted. The majority of Iranian specialists, perhaps, seem to have felt that a stronger case can be made for Media and the west as the scene alike of Zoroaster's activity and his birth. On the other hand, later tradition, which includes Mohammedan-Iranian sources, is almost unanimous in placing Vishtāsp's kingdom in Bactria, which is claimed to have been founded by Lohrāsp. Having now presented both sides of the question, we may refrain from drawing a conclusion between the two views, for the present, and content ourselves with recalling what was said at the outset, that Zoroaster was a reformer, and he had a mission; in modern times the field of a great missionary's work is not usually confined to a single part of a country, whatever it may have been in ancient times.

APPENDIX V

CLASSICAL PASSAGES MENTIONING ZOROASTER'S NAME

COLLECTED with the help of my student and friend Louis H. Gray, Fellow in Indo-Iranian Languages in Columbia University, to whom I wish to express my thanks with sincerity for his constant readiness to give assistance, especially in collecting the so-called Zoroastrian Logia. His kind aid is much appreciated. — A. V. W. J.

The list is confined simply to such passages as mention Zoroaster by name. Its compass might have been greatly extended if allusions to Magi, Persians, Hystaspes, or the like, had been included.

Much material from the Classics had already been gathered by Barnabé Brisson, *De Regio Persarum Principatu*, Paris, 1590; Hyde, *Religio veterum Persarum*, Oxon. 1700. The first systematic and excellent collection, however, of classical references on Persian subjects in general was made by J. F. Kleuker, *Zend-Avesta*, Anhang z. 2ten Bd. 3ter Theil, Leipzig und Riga, 1783. This is still one of the standards. A different arrangement of the material is found in Rapp, *Die Religion der Perser und der übrigen Iranier nach d. Griechischen und Römischen Quellen*, in *ZDMG.* xix. p. 4 seq., xx. p. 49 seq. (translated into English by K. R. Cama, *Religion and Customs of the Persians*, Bombay, 1876–1879); it should be consulted, as it includes also Persian and Magian subjects. Consult also Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, pp. 260–313, Berlin, 1863 (translated into English by Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Zarathushtra in the Gāthās*, pp. 65–141, Leipzig, 1897). On special classical references, see, likewise, Jackson in *JAOS.* xv. 221–232; xvii. 1–22.

ALPHABETIC LIST OF AUTHORS AND EDITIONS

1. Look for the author under his approximate date given in this list, or consult reference by section (§).

2. Those marked with an asterisk (*) are cited as authorities by other writers or are mentioned by them.

Abdias, in Fabricius, Codex apocryph. Novi Test. i. 402–742, Hamb. 1719. See § 50.

Afer, C. Marius Victorinus (A.D. first half fourth century), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 8. See § 23.

Agathias Scholiastikos (c. A.D. 536–582), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 88. See § **35**.
Ailios Theon, see Theon.
Ainaias of Gaza (fl. A.D. 487), ed. Barthius, Leipzig, 1655. See § **34**.
Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 100–101. See § **40**.
Alexander Poluhistor (B.C. first century), see § **4**, also *cited under* Georgios Sunkellos, § **41**.
Ammianus Marcellinus (c. A.D. 330–400), ed. Gardthausen, Leipzig, 1874. See § **22**.
Anathemas against Manichæans, see § **42**.
Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862 (same vol. as Diog. Laert.). *See under* Plato. § **1**.
Apuleius Madaurensis (temp. Antonini Pii), ed. Hildebrand, Leipzig, 1842. See § **11**.
*Aristotle (B.C. 384–322), *cited under* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
*Aristoxenos (fl. B.C. 318), *cited under* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.
Arnobius (c. A.D. 295), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 5. See § **16**.
*Athenokles (date unknown), *cited under* Agathias.
Augustinus (A.D. 354–430), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 32–47. See § **28**.
Aurelius Prudentius (A.D. 348–c. 410), ed. in usum Delphini, London, 1824. See § **26**.

Basilios (A.D. 329–379), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 29–32. See § **20**.
*Berosos (c. B.C. 250), *cited by* Agathias.

Cedrenus, see Georgios Kedrenos.
Chaldæan Oracles or Zoroastrian Logia, see § **51**.
Chronicon Paschale (A.D. 627, last date), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 92. See § **39**.
Claudianus Mamertus (A.D. fifth century, second half), ed. Engelbrecht, Vienna, 1885. See § **31**.
Clemens Alexandrinus (A.D. first century, end), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 8–9. See § **13**.
Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome, c. A.D. 91, but probably the works ascribed to him to be assigned later), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 1–2. See § **12**.
Cornelius Alexander Poluhistor, see Poluhistor.
Cotelerius, ed. SS. Patrum, qui temp. apost. floruerunt Opera, Paris, 1672. See § **42**.
Cyrillus Alexandrinus (d. A.D. 444), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 68–77. See § **29**.
*Deinon (date unknown), *cited under* Diogenes Laertius.
Diodoros Sikelos (temp. Augusti), ed. Müller, Paris, 1857. See § **3**.
*Diodoros of Eretria (temp. Augusti), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Hær. i.
Diogenes Laertios (flr. c. A.D. 210), ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862. See § **15**.
Dion Chrusostomos (born c. A.D. 50), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1857. See § **7**.

Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 41–43. See § **21**.
*Euboulos (date unknown), *cited by* Porphurios, de Antr. nymph.

Euchologion, siue Rituale Græcorum, ed. Goarius, Paris, 1647. *See under* Anathemas, § **42**.
* Eudemos of Rhodes (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
* Eudoxos (c. B.C. 366) *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
Eusebios (c. A.D. 264–340), Chronicon, ed. Aucher, Venice, 1818. See § **18**.

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Geoponica siue Cassiani Bassi Scholastica de re rustica Eclogæ (A.D. sixth century), ed. Beckh, Leipzig, 1895. See § **36**.
Georgios Hamartolos (c. A.D. 850), Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110. See § **43**. *See also under* Chron. Pasch.
* Georgios Kedrenos (c. A.D. 1100), *see under* Chron. Pasch., and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121.
Georgios Sunkellos (A.D. eighth century, last half), ed. Dindorf, Bonn, 1829. See § **41**.
* Gregorios (c. A.D. 329–389), *cited by* Mich. Glukas.
Goarius, ed. Εὐχολόγιον, Paris, 1647. See § **42**.
Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 71. See § **37**.

Hamartolos, *see* Georgios Hamartolos.
* Hekataios (d. c. B.C. 476), *cited by* Diog. Laert.
* Hellanikos of Lesbos (c. B.C. 496–411), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
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Herennios or Philo of Byblos, *see under* Eusebios.
* Hermippos (c. B.C. 200), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
* Hermodoros Platonikos (B.C. fourth century), *cited by* Pliny; Diog. Laert.
* Herodotos (c. B.C. 484–420), *cited by* Georg. Sunkell.
Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 22–30. See § **24**.
Hugo de St. Victore (d. A.D. 1141), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 175–177. See § **46**.

Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 81–84. See § **38**.

S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 47–64. See § **25**.
Iohannes Ludos (born c. A.D. 490), ed. Bekker, Bonn, 1827. See § **32**.
* Iohannes Malalas (A.D. sixth century, first part), *see under* Chron. Pasch. and also Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 97.
Iustinus (temp. Anton. ?), ed. in usum Delphini, London, 1822. See § **10**.
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* Kelsos (A.D. second century), *cited by* Origen, Contr. Cels. i.
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Lukianos (temp. Antoninorum), ed. Dindorf, Leipzig, 1858. See § 9.

Magika Logia of Zoroaster, so-called, see § 51.
Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 158. See § 47.
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tomm.	1–2	Clemens Romanus (Bishop of Rome c. A.D. 91).
"	8–9	Clemens Alexandrinos (end of first century A.D.).
"	11–17	Origenes (A.D. 185–254).
"	29–32	Basilios (A.D. 329–379).
"	41–43	Epiphanios (A.D. 320–402).
"	47–64	S. Iohannes Chrusostomos (A.D. 354–407).
"	68–77	Kurillos Alexandrinos (d. A.D. 444).
"	80–84	Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457).
"	87	Prokopios Gazaios (end of fifth century A.D.).
"	88	Agathias Scholastikos (c. A.D. 536–582).
"	92	Chronicon Paschale (last date A.D. 627).
"	97	Iohannes Malalas (early part of sixth century A.D.).
"	101–104	Photios (c. 820–c. 891 A.D.).
"	104	Petros Sikelos (forgery of twelfth century A.D.? *vide* Krumbacher, Gesch. der byzant. Lit.[2], München, 1897, p. 78).
"	110	Georgios Hamartolos Monachos (wrote c. A.D. 850).
"	121	Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.).
"	158	Michael Glukas (A.D. twelfth century, first half).

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tom.	5	Arnobius (c. A.D. 295).
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"	22–30	Hieronymus (A.D. 331–420).
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"	71	Gregorius Turensis (A.D. 538–593).
"	81–84	Isidorus (c. A.D. 570–636).
"	100–101	Alcuinus (A.D. 735–804).
"	175–177	Hugo de St. Victore (ob. A.D. 1141).
"	198	Petrus Comestor (d. A.D. 1178).

Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century), *cites* Xanthus of Lydia. See § 2.

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Petrus Comestor (d. A.D. 1178), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Lat. tom. 198. See § **49**.

*Philon of Byblos (A.D. second century, first half), *cited by* Eusebios.

Photios (c. A.D. 820–891), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 101–104. See § **44**.

Platon (B.C. 427–348) and Scholia, ed. Baiter, Orelli, Winckelmann, Zürich, 1839. See § **1**.

Plinius Secundus (A.D. first century), ed. de Grandsagne, Paris, 1827–1832. See § **5**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Vitæ ed. Döhner, Paris 1857–1862. See § **6**.

Ploutarchos (c. A.D. 46–120), Scripta Moralia ed. Dübner, Paris, 1841–1865. See § **6**.

Poluhistor, see Alexander Poluhistor and Solinus Polyhistor.

Porphurios (A.D. 233–306), de Antro Nymph. ed. Herscher, Paris, 1858. See § **17**.

Porphurios (A.D. 233–306), Vita Protag. et Plotini, ed. Westermann, Paris, 1862. See § **17**.

Prokopios Gazaios (A.D. fifth century, end), ed. Migne Patrolog. Gr. tom. 87. See § **33**.

Prudentius, *see* Aurelius Prudentius.

Scholiasticus Bassus, see Geoponica.

Scholion to Plato, see § **1**.

*Simakos = Symmachos (A.D. fourth century ?), *see under* Agathias, ii. 24.

Solinus Polyhistor, C. Iulius (A.D. third century), ed. Salmasius, Utrecht, 1689. See § **19**.

Suidas (believed to be A.D. tenth century, but date not known), ed. Kuster, Cambridge, 1705. See § **45**.

Sunkellos, *see* Georgios Sunkellos.

Theon Smernaios (temp. Hadriani), in Walz's Rhætores Græci, Stuttg. u. Tübingen, 1832–1836. See § **8**.

Theodoretos Kuraios (d. A.D. 457), ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 80–84. See § **30**.

*Theodoros of Mopsuestia (A.D. sixth century), *cited by* Photios.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, ed. Ast, Leipzig, 1817. See § **48**.

*Theopompos (fl. B.C. 338), *cited by* Diog. Laert. ; Ainaios of Gaza.

Victorinus, see Afer.

Xanthos of Lydia (B.C. fifth century), *cited by* Nikolaos of Damascus ; Diog. Laer.

*Zoroaster, *cited under* Pliny ; Clemen. Strom. ; Origenes ; Eusebios, Præp. Ev. ; Ainaias of Gaza ; Geoponica.

Zoroastrian Logia, so-called, see § **51**.

§ 1. Platon

(B.C. 427–347)

Alkibiades Protos, 121 E–122 A (a spurious work, perhaps by Alexamenos of Teos, an elder contemporary of Plato and the first to compose Socratic dialogues. See Bergk, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, Berlin, 1887, iv. 469): ἐπειδὰν δὲ ἑπτέτεις γένωνται οἱ παῖδες, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους καὶ ἐπὶ τοὺς τούτων διδασκάλους φοιτῶσι, καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς θήρας ἄρχονται ἰέναι. δὶς ἑπτὰ δὲ γενόμενον ἐτῶν τὸν παῖδα παραλαμβάνουσιν οὓς ἐκεῖνοι βασιλείους παιδαγωγοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν· εἰσὶ δὲ ἐξειλεγμένοι Περσῶν οἱ ἄριστοι δόξαντες ἐν ἡλικίᾳ τέτταρες, ὅ τε σοφώτατος καὶ ὁ δικαιότατος καί ὁ σωφρονέστατος καὶ ὁ ἀνδρειότατος. ὧν ὁ μὲν μαγείαν τε διδάσκει τὴν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὡρομάζου,[1] — ἔστι δὲ τοῦτο θεῶν θεραπεία, — διδάσκει δὲ καὶ τὰ βασιλικά· ὁ δὲ δικαιότατος ἀληθεύειν διὰ παντὸς τοῦ βίου, κ.τ.λ.

Scholion on the First Alkibiades: ἑπτέτεις] ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν λόγον τότε ἄρχεσθαι τελειοῦσθαι, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Ζωροάστρην ζ′ γενόμενον ἐτῶν σιωπῆσαι, εἶτα μετὰ λ′ χρόνους ἐξηγήσασθαι τῷ βασιλεῖ τῆς ὅλης φιλοσοφίας, ἢ ὡς τῷ Μίθρᾳ οἰκεῖον τὸν ζ′ ἀριθμόν, ὃν διαφερόντως οἱ Πέρσαι σέβουσιν.

Ζωροάστρης ἀρχαιότερος ἑξακισχιλίοις ἔτεσιν εἶναι λέγεται Πλάτωνος· ὃν οἱ μὲν Ἕλληνα, οἱ δὲ τῶν ἐκ τῆς ὑπὲρ τὴν μεγάλην θάλασσαν ἠπείρου ὡρμημένων [παῖδά] φασι, πᾶσάν τε σοφίαν παρὰ τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος ἐκμαθεῖν, τουτέστιν ἐπιτυχοῦς νοήματος· οὗ δὴ εἰς ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. τιμῆσαί τε αὐτὸν τὴν ἀνακεχωρηκυῖαν διαγωγὴν τῶν πολλῶν, καὶ δὴ τὴν τῶν ἐμψύχων ἀποχήν, συγγράμματά τε διάφορα καταλιπεῖν, ἐξ ὧν καὶ δείκνυσθαι τρία μέρη φιλοσοφίας εἶναι κατ' αὐτόν, φυσικόν, οἰκονομικόν, πολιτικόν.

Scholion to the Republic, X. p. 600 B: Πυθαγόρας Μνησάρχου δακτυλιογλύφου, Τυρρηνός. νεὸς δὲ ὢν ἦλθεν ἐκ Τυρρηνῶν εἰς Σάμον, καὶ διήκουσε Φερεκύδους τοῦ Συρίου, εἶτα Ἑρμοδάμαντος, ἐν Σάμῳ ἀμφοῖν, εἶτα Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρατος τοῦ Μάγου. μεθ' οὓς ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Χαλδαίων ἐπαιδεύθη.

Anonymi Vita Platonis, ed. Westermann, p. 7 (Paris, 1862): μεμαθηκὼς δὲ [*sc.* ὁ Πλάτων] ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν εἶχον τῆς φιλοσοφίας οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ἀπὸ Αἰγύπτου, ἦλθεν εἰς Αἴγυπτον, καὶ κατορθώσας ἐκεῖσε τὴν γεωμετρίαν καὶ τὴν ἱερατικὴν ἀνεχώρησεν. εἶτ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Φοινίκην περιέτυχεν ἐκεῖσε Περσαῖς καὶ ἔμαθε παρ' αὐτοῖς τὴν Ζωροάστρου παιδείαν.

[1] Two Parisian MSS. (1811, 1812 — Becker's E, F) read ὡροζάμου.

§ 2. Xanthos (B.C. Fifth Century), quoted by Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. First Century)

This entire passage is in Nikolaos of Damascus (B.C. first century) (Müller, *FGH.* iii. 409). Xanthos wrote B.C. 465–425 (cf. Christ, *Griech. Literaturgesch.*[2] 278; Bergk, op. cit. 240) (in Müller's *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* i. pp. 36–44).

Fragm. 19 (Müller, p. 42): Κροίσῳ μὲν οὖν ταχὺ στέγασμα πορφυροῦν ὑπερέτεινον· τοῖς δὲ ἀνθρώποις τὰ μὲν ὑπὸ ζόφου καὶ λαίλαπος ταραττομένοις, τὰ δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀστραπῶν, καταπατουμένοις ὑπὸ τῶν ἵππων τραχυνομένων πρὸς τὸν ψόφον τῶν βροντῶν, δείματα δαιμόνια ἐνέπιπτεν, καὶ οἵ τε τῆς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὶ καὶ τὰ Ζωροάστρου λόγια εἰσῄει. Κροῖσον μὲν οὖν ἐβόων ἔτι μᾶλλον ἢ πάλαι σώζειν· αὐτοὶ δὲ καταπίπτοντες εἰς γῆν προσεκύνουν, εὐμένειαν παρὰ τοῦ θεοῦ αἰτούμενοι. φασὶ δέ τινες Θαλῆν προειδόμενον ἔκ τινων σημείων ὄμβρον γενησόμενον καὶ ἀναμένειν τὴν ὥραν ἐκείνην. τόν γε μὴν Ζωροάστρην Πέρσαι ἀπ' ἐκείνου διεῖπαν, μήτε νεκροὺς καίειν, μήτ' ἄλλως μιαίνειν πῦρ, καὶ πάλαι τοῦτο καθεστὼς τὸ νόμιμον τότε βεβαιωσάμενοι.

See also Xanthos cited below under Diogenes Laertios, § 15.

§ 3. Diodoros Sikelos

(Wrote in the Reign of Augustus)

Lib. I. 94. 2: καὶ παρ' ἑτέροις δὲ πλείοσιν ἔθνεσι παραδέδοται τοῦτο τὸ γένος τῆς ἐπινοίας ὑπάρξαι καὶ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἴτιον γενέσθαι τοῖς πεισθεῖσι· παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Ἀριανοῖς Ζαθραύστην ἱστοροῦσι τὸν ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα προσποιήσασθαι τοὺς νόμους αὐτῷ διδόναι, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὀνομαζομένοις Γέταις τοῖς ἀπαθανατίζουσι Ζάλμοξιν ὡσαύτως τὴν κοινὴν Ἑστίαν, παρὰ δὲ τοῖς Ἰουδαίοις Μωυσῆν τὸν Ἰαὼ ἐπικαλούμενον θεόν, κ.τ.λ.

II. 6. 1–2: ὁ δ' οὖν Νίνος μετὰ τοσαύτης δυνάμεως στρατεύσας εἰς τὴν Βακτριανὴν ἠναγκάζετο, δυσεισβόλων[1] τῶν τόπων καὶ στενῶν ὄντων, κατὰ μέρος ἄγειν τὴν δύναμιν. ἡ γὰρ Βακτριανὴ χώρα πολλαῖς καὶ μεγάλαις οἰκουμένη πόλεσι, μίαν μὲν εἶχεν ἐπιφανεστάτην, ἐν ᾗ συνέβαινεν εἶναι καὶ τὰ βασίλεια· αὕτη δ' ἐκαλεῖτο μὲν Βάκτρα, μεγέθει δὲ καὶ τῇ κατὰ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ὀχυρότητι πολὺ πασῶν διέφερε. βασιλεύων δ' αὐτῆς Ὀξυάρτης[2] κατέγραψεν ἅπαντας τοὺς ἐν ἡλικίᾳ στρατείας ὄντας, οἱ τὸν ἀριθμὸν ἠθροίσθησαν εἰς τετταράκοντα μυριάδας. ἀναλαβὼν οὖν τὴν δύναμιν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις

[1] Gilmore, δυσκόλων.

[2] Codd. A, B, D, Ἐξαόρτης; F, ὁ Ξαόρτης; G, M, ὁ Ζαόρτης (Gilmore).

ἀπαντήσας περὶ τὰς εἰσβολάς, εἴασε μέρος τῆς τοῦ Νίνου στρατιᾶς εἰσβαλεῖν. ἐπεὶ δ' ἔδοξεν ἱκανὸν ἀποβεβηκέναι τῶν πολεμίων πλῆθος εἰς τὸ πεδίον, ἐξέταξε τὴν ἰδίαν δύναμιν. γενομένης δὲ μάχης ἰσχυρᾶς οἱ Βακτριανοὶ τοὺς Ἀσσυρίους τρεψάμενοι καὶ τὸν διωγμὸν μέχρι τῶν ὑπερκειμένων ὀρῶν ποιησάμενοι, διέφθειραν τῶν πολεμίων εἰς δέκα μυριάδας. μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα πάσης τῆς δυνάμεως εἰσβαλούσης κρατούμενοι τοῖς πλήθεσι, κατὰ πόλεις ἀπεχώρησαν, ἕκαστοι ταῖς ἰδίαις πατρίσι βοηθήσοντες. τὰς μὲν οὖν ἄλλας ὁ Νίνος ἐχειρώσατο ῥᾳδίως, τὰ δὲ Βάκτρα διά τε τὴν ὀχυρότητα καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτῇ παρασκευὰς ἠδύνατει κατὰ κράτος ἑλεῖν. πολυχρόνου[1] δὲ τῆς πολιορκίας γενομένης ὁ τῆς Σεμιράμιδος ἀνὴρ ἐρωτικῶς ἔχων πρὸς τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ συστρατευόμενος τῷ βασιλεῖ, μετεπέμψατο τὴν ἄνθρωπον. ἡ δὲ συνέσει καὶ τόλμῃ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς πρὸς ἐπιφάνειαν συντείνουσι κεχορηγημένη, καιρὸν ἔλαβεν ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν ἰδίαν ἀρετήν. πρῶτον μὲν οὖν πολλῶν ἡμερῶν ὁδὸν μέλλουσα διαπορεύεσθαι στολὴν ἐπαγματεύσατο, δι' ἧς οὐκ ἦν διαγνῶναι τὸν περιβεβλημένον πότερον ἀνήρ ἐστιν ἢ γυνή. αὕτη δ' ἦν εὔχρηστος αὐτῇ πρός τε τὰς ἐν τοῖς καύμασιν ὁδοιπορίας, εἰς τὸ διατηρῆσαι τὸν τοῦ σώματος χρῶτα, καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἐν τῷ πράττειν ὃ βούλοιτο χρείας, εὐκίνητος οὖσα καὶ νεανική. καὶ τὸ σύνολον τοσαύτη τις ἐπῆν αὐτῇ χάρις ὥσθ' ὕστερον Μήδους ἡγησαμένους τῆς Ασίας, φορεῖν τὴν Σεμιράμιδος στολήν, καὶ μετὰ ταῦθ' ὁμοίως Πέρσας. παραγενομένη δ' εἰς τὴν Βακτριανήν, καὶ κατασκεψαμένη τὰ περὶ τὴν πολιορκίαν, ἑώρα κατὰ μὲν τὰ πεδία καὶ τοὺς εὐεφόδους τῶν τόπων προσβολὰς γινομένας, πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδένα προσιόντα, διὰ τὴν ὀχυρότητα· καὶ τοὺς ἔνδον ἀπολελοιπότας τὰς ἐνταυθοῖ[2] φυλακάς, καὶ παρεπιβοηθοῦντας τοῖς ἐπὶ τῶν κάτω τειχῶν κινδυνεύουσι. διόπερ παραλαβοῦσα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τοὺς πετροβατεῖν εἰωθότας, καὶ μετὰ τούτων διά τινος χαλεπῆς φάραγγος προσαναβᾶσα, κατελάβετο μέρος τῆς ἀκροπόλεως, καὶ τοῖς πολιορκοῦσι τὸ κατὰ τὸ πεδίον τεῖχος ἐσήμηνεν. οἱ δ' ἔνδον ἐπὶ τῇ καταλήψει τῆς ἄκρας καταπλαγέντες, ἐξέλιπον τὰ τείχη, καὶ τῆς σωτηρίας ἀπέγνωσαν.

§ 4. Kornelios Alexander Poluhistor, quoted by Other Writers

(B.C. First Century)

Fragmm. 138–139, apud Clem. Alex. Strom. I. 15 (tom. i. col. 776, ed. Migne) et Cyrill. adv. Iul. IV. p. 133 (tom. ix. col. 705, ed. Migne): Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ναζαράτῳ τῷ Ἀσσυρίῳ μαθητεῦσαι ἱστορεῖ τὸν Πυθαγόραν (Ἰεζεκιὴλ τοῦτον ἡγοῦνταί τινες, οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ὡς ἔπειτα δηλωθήσεται), ἀκηκοέναι τε πρὸς τούτοις Γαλατῶν καὶ Βραχμάνων τὸν Πυθαγόραν βούλεται. ἱστορεῖ γοῦν Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ

[1] Müller, πολυχρονίου. [2] Müller, ἐνταῦθα.

ἐπίκλην Πολυίστωρ ἐν τῷ περὶ Πυθαγορικῶν συμβόλων Ἀσσυρίῳ τὸ γένος ὄντι τῷ Ζάρᾳ φοιτῆσαι τὸν Πυθαγόραν.

See also under Georgios Sunkellos, § 41.

§ 5. C. Plinius Secundus

(A.D. 23–79).

Nat. Hist. VII. 15: Risisse eodem die quo genitus esset unum hominem accepimus Zoroastrem. eidem cerebrum ita palpitasse, ut impositam repelleret manum futurae praesagio scientiae.

XI. 97: Tradunt Zoroastrem in desertis caseo uixisse, ita temperato ut uetustatem non sentiret.

XVIII. 55: Adiecit iis Accius in Praxidico ut sereretur, cum luna esset in Ariete, Geminis, Leone, Libra, Aquario. Zoroastres sole duodecim partes Scorpionis transgresso, cum luna esset in Tauro.

XXX. 2. 1: Sine dubio illic orta in Perside a Zoroastre, ut inter auctores conuenit. sed unus hic fuerit, an postea et alius non satis constat. Eudoxus, qui inter sapientiae sectas clarissimam utilissimamque eam intelligi uoluit, Zoroastrem hunc sex millibus annorum ante Platonis mortem fuisse prodidit. sic et Aristoteles. Hermippus qui de tota ea arte diligentissime scripsit, et uicies centum millia uersuum a Zoroastre condita, indicibus quoque uoluminum eius positis explanauit, praeceptorem, a quo institutum diceret, tradidit Azonacem ipsum uero quinque millibus annorum ante Troianum bellum fuisse. mirum hoc in primis durasse memoriam artemque tam longo aeuo, commentariis non intercedentibus, praeterea nec claris nec continuis successionibus custoditam. quotus enim quisque auditu saltem cognitos habet, qui soli cognominantur, Apuscorum et Zaratum Medos, Babyloniosque Marmarum et Arabantiphocum, aut Assyrium Tarmoendam, quorum nulla extant monumenta? . . . primus quod extet, ut equidem inuenio, commentatus de ea Osthanes, Xerxem regem Persarum bello, quod is Graeciae intulit, comitatus; ac uelut semina artis portentosae sparsisse, obiter infecto, quacumque commeauerat, mundo. diligentiores paulo ante hunc ponunt Zoroastrem alium Proconnesium. . . . est et alia Magices factio, a Mose et Iamne et Iotape Iudeis pendens, sed multis millibus annorum post Zoroastrem.

XXXVII. 49: Celebrant et astroitem, mirasque laudes eius in magicis artibus Zoroastrem cecinisse, qui circa eas diligentes sunt, produnt.

Ibid. 55: Zoroastres crinibus mulierum similiorem bostrychiten uocat.

Ibid. 57: Daphniam Zoroastres morbis comitialibus demonstrat.

Ibid. 58: Exebenum Zoroastres speciosam et candidam tradit, qua aurifices aurum poliunt.

§ 6. Ploutarchos

(About A.D. 46 to about A.D. 120)

Vit. Numae, IV.: ἆρα οὖν ἄξιόν ἐστι, ταῦτα συγχωροῦντας ἐπὶ τούτων ἀπιστεῖν, εἰ Ζαλεύκῳ καὶ Μίνῳ καὶ Ζωροάστρῃ καὶ Νομᾷ καὶ Λυκούργῳ, βασιλείας κυβερνῶσι καὶ πολιτείας διακοσμοῦσιν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ ἐφοίτα τὸ δαιμόνιον;

De Isid. et Osir. XLVI.: καὶ δοκεῖ τοῦτο τοῖς πλείστοις καὶ σοφωτάτοις. νομίζουσι γὰρ οἱ μὲν θεοὺς εἶναι δύο, καθάπερ ἀντιτέχνους· τὸν μὲν ἀγαθῶν, τὸν δὲ φαύλων δημιουργόν. οἱ δὲ τὸν μὲν ἀμείνονα, θεόν, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον, δαίμονα καλοῦσιν· ὥσπερ Ζωρόαστρις ὁ μάγος, ὃν πεντακισχιλίοις ἔτεσι τῶν Τρωικῶν γεγονέναι πρεσβύτερον ἱστοροῦσιν. οὗτος οὖν ἐκάλει τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάζην, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον· καὶ προσαπεφαίνετο, τὸν μὲν ἐοικέναι φωτὶ μάλιστα τῶν αἰσθητῶν, τὸν δ' ἔμπαλιν σκότῳ καὶ ἀγνοίᾳ, μέσον δ' ἀμφοῖν τὸν Μίθρην εἶναι. διὸ καὶ Μίθρην Πέρσαι τὸν Μεσίτην ὀνομάζουσι· ἐδίδαξε τῷ μὲν εὐκταῖα θύειν καὶ χαριστήρια, τῷ δ' ἀποτρόπαια καὶ σκυθρωπά. πόαν γάρ τινα κόπτοντες Ὄμωμι καλουμένην ἐν ὅλμῳ, τὸν ᾅδην ἀνακαλοῦνται καὶ τὸν σκότον· εἶτα μίξαντες αἵματι λύκου σφαγέντος, εἰς τόπον ἀνήλιον ἐκφέρουσι καὶ ῥίπτουσι. καὶ γὰρ τῶν φυτῶν νομίζουσι τὰ μὲν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ θεοῦ, τὰ δὲ τοῦ κακοῦ δαίμονος εἶναι· καὶ τῶν ζῴων, ὥσπερ κύνας καὶ ὄρνιθας καὶ χερσαίους ἐχίνους, τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ· τοῦ δὲ φαύλου, τοὺς ἐνύδρους εἶναι· διὸ καὶ τὸν κτείναντα πλείστους εὐδαιμονίζουσιν.

De defectu Oraculorum, X.: ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκοῦσι πλείονας λῦσαι καὶ μείζονας ἀπορίας οἱ τὸ τῶν δαιμόνων γένος ἐν μέσῳ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ τὴν κοινωνίαν ἡμῶν συνάγον εἰς ταὐτὸ καὶ συνάπτον ἐξευρόντες· εἴτε μάγων τῶν περὶ Ζωροάστρην ὁ λόγος οὗτός ἐστιν, εἴτε Θρᾴκιος ἀπ' Ὀρφέως, εἴτ' Αἰγύπτιος, ἢ Φρύγιος, ὡς τεκμαιρόμεθα ταῖς ἑκατέρωθι τελεταῖς ἀναμεμιγμένα πολλὰ θνητὰ καὶ πένθιμα τῶν ὀργιαζομένων καὶ δρωμένων ἱερῶν ὁρῶντες.

Quaest. Conviv. IV. 1. 1: οὐ γὰρ ἐμεμνήμην, εἶπεν ὁ Φίλων ὅτι Σωσάστρον ἡμῖν ὑποτρέφει ὁ Φιλῖνος, ὃν φασι μήτε ποτῷ χρησάμενον ἄλλῳ μήτ' ἐδέσματι πλὴν ἢ γάλακτος διαβιῶσαι πάντα τὸν βίον.

Ibid. IV. 5. 2: καὶ τί ἄν τις Αἰγυπτίους αἰτιῷτο τῆς τοιαύτης ἀλογίας; ὅπου καὶ τοὺς Πυθαγορικοὺς ἱστοροῦσι καὶ ἀλεκτρυόνα λευκὸν σέβεσθαι, καὶ τῶν θαλαττίων μάλιστα τρίγλης καὶ ἀκαλήφης ἀπέχεσθαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ Ζωροάστρου μάγους τιμᾶν μὲν ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τὸν χερσαῖον ἐχῖνον, ἐχθαίρειν δὲ τοὺς ἐνύδρους μῦς, καὶ τὸν ἀποκτείνοντα πλείστους θεοφιλῆ καὶ μακάριον νομίζειν;

De Animae Procreat in Timaeo, II. 2: καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ταύτην [sc. δυάδα] μὲν ἐκάλει τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ μητέρα, τὸ δὲ ἓν πατέρα· διὸ καὶ βελτίονας εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, ὅσοι τῇ μονάδι προσεοίκασι.

Ibid. XXVII. 2: . . . ἀνάγκην ἣν εἱμαρμένην οἱ πολλοὶ καλοῦσιν· Ἐμπεδοκλῆς δὲ φιλίαν ὁμοῦ καὶ νεῖκος· Ἡράκλειτος δὲ, παλίντροπον ἁρμονίην κόσμου, ὅκωσπερ λύρης καὶ τόξου· Παρμενίδης δὲ φῶς καὶ σκότος· Ἀναξαγόρας δὲ νοῦν καὶ ἀπειρίαν· Ζωροάστρης δὲ θεὸν καὶ δαίμονα, τὸν μὲν Ὡρομάσδην καλῶν, τὸν δ' Ἀρειμάνιον.

Advers. Coloten, XIV. 2: ποῦ γὰρ ὢν τῆς ἀοικήτου τὸ βιβλίον ἔγραφες; ἵνα ταῦτα συντιθεὶς τὰ ἐγκλήματα μὴ τοῖς ἐκείνων συντάγμασιν ἐντύχῃς, μηδ' ἀναλάβῃς εἰς χεῖρας Ἀριστοτέλους τὰ περὶ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, Θεοφράστου δὲ τὰ πρὸς τοὺς φυσικούς, Ἡρακλείδου[1] δὲ τὸν Ζωροάστρην, τὸ περὶ τῶν ἐν ᾅδου, τὸ περὶ τῶν φυσικῶς ἀπορουμένων, Δικαιάρχου δὲ τὰ περὶ ψυχῆς, ἐν οἷς πρὸς τὰ κυριώτατα καὶ μέγιστα τῶν φυσικῶν ὑπεναντιούμενοι τῷ Πλάτωνι καὶ μαχόμενοι διατελοῦσι.

§ 7. Dion Chrusostomos

(Born about A.D. 50)

Borysthenica Orat. XXXVI. (vol. ii. p. 60 f., ed. Dindorf): τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τέλειον ἅρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἄρα ὕμνησεν ἀξίως τῶν τῇδε οὔτε Ὅμηρος οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροάστρης καὶ μάγων παῖδες ᾄδουσι παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες· ὃν Πέρσαι λέγουσιν ἔρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν ὄρει τινὶ ζῆν· ἔπειτα ἀφθῆναι τὸ ὄρος πυρὸς ἄνωθεν πολλοῦ κατασκήψαντος συνεχῶς τε κάεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλησίον, βουλόμενον εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἵλεων θαρρεῖν κελεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινάς, ὡς ἥκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγίγνεσθαί τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἅπασιν ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ συνιέναι δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι μάγους ἐκάλεσεν,

[1] On Herakleides of Pontos, cf. Müller, *Fragm. Hist. Græc.* ii. 197 ff.; Bähr, in Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie*, iii. 1142–1144.

ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον, οὐχ ὡς Ἕλληνες ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν ἀνθρώπους γόητας.

§ 8. Ailios Theon

(Flourished about A.D. 125 ?)

Progymnasmata, 9: οὐ γὰρ εἰ Τόμυρις ἡ Μασσαγέτις, ἢ Σπαρέδρα ἡ Ἀμώγου τοῦ Σάκων βασιλέως γυνὴ κρείττων ἐστὶ Κύρου, ἢ καὶ ναὶ μὰ Δία Σεμίραμις Ζοροάστρου τοῦ Βακτρίου, ἤδη συγχωρητέον καὶ τὸ θῆλυ τοῦ ἄρρενος εἶναι ἀνδρειότερον, μιᾶς μὲν ἢ δύο γυναικῶν ἀνδρειοτάτων οὐσῶν, ἀρρένων δὲ παμπολλῶν.

§ 9. Lukianos

(Flourished about A.D. 160)

Nekuomanteia, 6: καί μοί ποτε διαγρυπνοῦντι τούτων ἕνεκεν ἔδοξεν ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἐλθόντα δεηθῆναί τινος τῶν μάγων τῶν Ζωροάστρου μαθητῶν καὶ διαδόχων, ἤκουον δ' αὐτοὺς ἐπῳδαῖς τε καὶ τελεταῖς τισιν ἀνοίγειν τε τοῦ Ἅιδου τὰς πύλας καὶ κατάγειν ὃν ἂν βούλωνται ἀσφαλῶς καὶ ὀπίσω αὖθις ἀναπέμπειν.

§ 10. M. Iunian(i)us Iustinus

(Period of the Antonines ?)

Hist. Philippicae, I. 1. 9–10: Postremum illi bellum cum Zoroastre, rege Bactrianorum, fuit, qui primus dicitur artes magicas inuenisse, et mundi principia siderumque motus diligentissime spectasse. hoc occiso et ipse decessit, relicto impubere adhuc filio Ninya et uxore Semiramide.

§ 11. Apuleius Madaurensis

(Born about A.D. 125)

Florida, II. 15 (vol. ii. p. 59, ed. Hildebrand): Sunt qui Pythagoram aiant eo temporis inter captiuos Cambysae regis, Aegyptum cum adueheretur, doctores habuisse Persarum magos ac praecipue Zoroastren, omnis diuini arcanum antistitem, posteaque eum a quodam Gillo Crotoniensium principe reciperatum.

De Magia, XXVI. (vol. ii. p. 502 f., ed. Hild.): Auditisne magiam, qui eam temere accusatis, artem esse diis immortalibus acceptam, colendi eos ac uenerandi pergnaram, piam scilicet et

diuini scientem, iam inde a Zoroastre et Oromazo auctoribus suis nobilem, coelitum antistitem? quippe quia inter prima regalia docetur, nec ulli temere inter Persas concessum est magum esse, haud magis quam regnare. idem Plato in alia sermocinatione de Zalmoxi quodam Thraci generis sed eiusdem artis uiro ita scriptum reliquit: *θεραπεύεσθαι δὲ τὴν ψυχήν, ἔφη, ὦ μακάριε, ἐπῳδαῖς τισί. τὰς δὲ ἐπῳδὰς τοὺς λόγους εἶναι τοὺς καλούς.* quodsi ita est, cur mihi nosse non liceat uel Zalmoxis bona uerba uel Zoroastris sacerdotia?

Ibid. XXXI. (p. 514): Pythagoram plerique Zoroastris sectatorem similiter magiae peritum arbitrati.

Ibid. cap. XC. (p. 615 f.): Si quamlibet modicum emolumentum probaueritis, ego ille sim Carinondas uel Damigeron, uel is Moses uel Iannes uel Apollonius uel ipse Dardanus uel quicumque alius post Zoroastren et Hostanen inter magos celebratus est.

§ 12. Clemens Romanus

(About A.D. 30–100, but probably written later)

Recognitiones, IV. 27–29 (tom. i. col. 1326 f., ed. Migne) (only in Latin transl. of Rufinus; dates about end of A.D. second century. Cf. Schoell, *Histoire Abrégée de la litt. grecque sacrée et ecclésiastique*, Paris, 1832, p. 220 f.; Christ, *Griechische Literaturgeschichte*, 2d ed. p. 732). 27: Ex quibus unus Cham nomine, cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicae artis tradidit disciplinam; hunc gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastrem appelauerunt, admirantes primum magicae artis auctorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus et uolens apud homines uideri deus, uelut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur usquequo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat igni succensus concremaretur.

28: Sed stulti homines qui tunc erant, cum debuissent utique opinionem, quam de eo conceperant, abicere, quippe quam poenali morte eius uiderant confutatam, in maius eum extollunt. extructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius, tanquam amicum dei ac fulminis ad caelum uehiculo subleuatum, adorare ausi sunt, et quasi uiuens

astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est uiuum sidus, appellatum est ab his, qui post unam generationem graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint, sepulcris honoratos tamquam amicos Dei colunt. hic ergo cum quartadecima generatione coepisset, quintadecima defunctus est, in qua turris aedificata est, et linguae hominum multipliciter diuisae sunt.

29: Inter quos primus, magica nihilominus arte, quasi corusco ad eum delato, rex appellatur quidam Nemrod, quem et ipsum Graeci Ninum uocauerunt; ex cuius nomine Niniue ciuitas uocabulum sumsit. sic ergo diuersae et erraticae superstitiones ab arte magica initium sumpsere.

Et eius, quem supra diximus indignatione daemonis, cui nimis molestus fuerat, conflagrasse, busti cineres tanquam fulminei ignis reliquias colligentes hi, qui erant primitus decepti, deferunt ad Persas, ut ab eis tanquam diuinus e caelo lapsus ignis perpetuis conseruaretur excubiis, atque ut caelestis deus coleretur.

Homilies (also spurious), IX. 4 f. (tom. ii. col. 244, ed. Migne): *ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεταί τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρειληφώς, ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ θεῷ φρονεῖν ἐλόμενος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὢν μάγος τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα κόσμον ἀστέρα πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δόσιν μαγικαῖς ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. ὁ δὲ ἅτε δὴ ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχεε πῦρ, ἵνα πρός τε τὸν ὁρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ, καὶ τὸν πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσηται.*

ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρώδ, ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη, διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. οἱ δὲ ἀνόητοι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῷ ἐτίμησαν ἐν Πέρσαις, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκευσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκεῖσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοῖς τιμῶσιν, καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίων μορφῶν ἱστᾶσιν ἀγάλματα . . .

Πέρσαι πρῶτοι τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς λαβόντες ἄνθρακας τῇ οἰκείᾳ διεφύλαξαν τροφῇ καὶ ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον προτιμήσαντες τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτοι προσκυνήσαντες, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς πρώτῃ βασιλείᾳ τετίμηνται· μεθ' οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας κλέψαντες καὶ διασώσαντες εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολούθως ἐβασίλευσαν.

§ 13. Titus Flavius Clemens Alexandrinus

(Died between A.D. 211–218)

Stromata I. (tom. i. col. 773, ed. Migne): *ἐπῆλθε γὰρ* [*sc.* ὁ Δημόκριτος[1]] *Βαβυλῶνά τε καὶ Περσίδα καὶ Αἴγυπτον τοῖς τε μαγικοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἱερεῦσι μαθητεύων. Ζωρωάστρην δὲ τὸν μάγον τὸν Πέρσην ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐδήλωσεν.*[2] *βίβλους ἀποκρύφους τἀνδρὸς τοῦδε οἱ τὴν Προδίκου μετιόντες αἵρεσιν αὐχοῦσι κεκτῆσθαι.*

Ibid. (tom. i. col. 868, ed. Migne): *προγνώσει δὲ καὶ Πυθαγόρας ὁ μέγας προσανεῖχεν ἀεί, Ἀβαρίς τε ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος, καὶ Ἀριστείας ὁ Προκοννήσιος, Ἐπιμενίδης τε ὁ Κρὴς ὅστις εἰς Σπάρτην ἀφίκετο, καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ Μῆδος, Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τε ὁ Ἀκραγαντῖνος, καὶ Φορμίων ὁ Λάκων.*

Ibid. Strom. V. (tom. ii. col. 156 f., ed. Migne): *ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν τῷ δεκάτῳ τῆς Πολιτείας Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου,*[3] *τὸ γένος Παμφύλου, μέμνηται, ὅς ἐστι Ζοροάστρης.*[4] *αὐτὸς γοῦν ὁ Ζοροάστρης γράφει· Τάδε συνέγραψεν Ζοροάστρης ὁ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Πάμφυλος. ἐν πολέμῳ τελευτήσας ἐν Ἅιδῃ γενόμενος ἐδάην παρὰ θεῶν. τὸν δὴ Ζοροάστρην τοῦτον ὁ Πλάτων δωδεκαταῖον ἐπὶ τῇ πυρᾷ κείμενον ἀναβιῶναι λέγει. τάχα μὲν οὖν τὴν ἀνάστασιν, τάχα δὲ ἐκεῖνα αἰνίσσεται, ὡς διὰ τῶν δώδεκα ζωδίων ἡ ὁδὸς ταῖς ψυχαῖς γίνεται εἰς τὴν ἀνάληψιν. αὐτὸς δὲ καὶ εἰς τὴν γένεσίν φησι τὴν αὐτὴν γίγνεσθαι κάθοδον.*

§ 14. Origenes

(A.D. 185–254)

Contra Celsum I. (tom. i. col. 689, ed. Migne): *ὅρα οὖν εἰ μὴ ἄντικρυς κακουργῶν ἐξέβαλε* [*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος] *τοῦ καταλόγου τῶν σοφῶν καὶ Μωυσέα, Λίνον δὲ καὶ Μουσαῖον καὶ Ὀρφέα καὶ τὸν Φερεκύδην καὶ τὸν Πέρσην Ζωροάστρην καὶ Πυθαγόραν φήσας περὶ τῶνδε διειληφέναι, καὶ ἐς βίβλους κατατεθεῖσθαι τὰ ἑαυτῶν δόγματα, καὶ πεφυλάχθαι αὐτὰ μέχρι δεῦρο.*

Contra Haereses I. col. 3025: *Διόδωρος δὲ ὁ Ἐρετριεὺς καὶ Ἀριστόξενος ὁ μουσικός φησι πρὸς Ζαράταν τὸν Χαλδαῖον ἐληλυθέναι Πυθαγόραν· τὸν δὲ ἐκθέσθαι αὐτῷ δύο εἶναι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τοῖς οὖσιν αἴτια, πατέρα καὶ μητέρα· καὶ πατέρα μὲν φῶς, μητέρα δὲ σκότος, τοῦ δὲ φωτὸς μέρη θερμόν, ξηρόν,*

[1] Cf. Eusebius.

[2] Quoted by Cyrill. *adv. Iul.* iii. (tom. i. col. 633, ed. Migne) where, however, *ἐζήλωσεν* is read (cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 263).

[3] Vid. Plato, *Repub.* p. 614 B.

[4] *Ζωρόαστρις* in Euseb. *Præp. Evang.* XIII. 13, 30.

κοῦφον, ταχύ· τοῦ δὲ σκότους ψυχρόν, ὑγρόν, βαρύ, βραδύ. ἐκ δὲ τούτων πάντα τὸν κόσμον συνεστάναι, ἐκ θηλείας καὶ ἄρρενος· εἶναι δὲ τὸν κόσμον φύσιν κατὰ μουσικὴν ἁρμονίαν, διὸ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ποιεῖσθαι τὴν περίοδον ἐναρμόνιον. περὶ δὲ τῶν ἐκ γῆς καὶ κόσμου γινομένων τάδε φασὶ λέγειν τὸν Ζαράταν· δύο δαίμονας εἶναι, τὸν μὲν οὐράνιον, τὸν δὲ χθόνιον· καὶ τὸν μὲν χθόνιον ἀνιέναι τὴν γένεσιν ἐκ τῆς γῆς, εἶναι δὲ ὕδωρ· τὸν δὲ οὐράνιον πῦρ μετέχον τοῦ ἀέρος, θερμὸν τοῦ ψυχροῦ. διὸ καὶ τούτων οὐδὲν ἀναιρεῖν οὐδὲ μιαίνειν φησὶ τὴν ψυχήν· ἔστι γὰρ ταῦτα οὐσία τῶν πάντων. κυάμους δὲ λέγεται παραγγέλλειν μὴ ἐσθίειν, αἰτίᾳ τοῦ τὸν Ζαράτην εἰρηκέναι κατὰ τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ σύγκρισιν τῶν πάντων συνισταμένης τῆς γῆς ἔτι καὶ συνσεσημμένης γενέσθαι τὸν κύαμον. τούτου δὲ τεκμήριόν φησιν, εἴ τις καταμασησάμενος λεῖον τὸν κύαμον καταθείη πρὸς ἥλιον χρόνον τινά — τοῦτο γὰρ εὐθέως ἀντιλήψεται — προσφέρειν ἀνθρωπίνου γόνου ὀδμήν. σαφέστερον δὲ εἶναι καὶ ἕτερον παράδειγμα λέγει, εἰ ἀνθοῦντος τοῦ κυάμου λαβόντες τὸν κύαμον καὶ τὸ ἄνθος αὐτοῦ καὶ καταθέντες εἰς χύτραν ταύτην τε καταχρίσαντες εἰς γῆν κατορύξαιμεν καὶ μετ' ὀλίγας ἡμέρας ἀνακαλύψαιμεν, ἴδοιμεν ⟨ἂν⟩ αὐτὸ εἶδος ἔχον τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ὡς αἰσχύνην γυναικός, μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα κατανοούμενον παιδίου κεφαλὴν συμπεφυκυῖαν.

Ibid. V. (auct. inc.) Migne, vi. col. 3170: δύναμις δεξιὰ ἐξουσιάζει καρπῶν· τοῦτον ἡ ἀγνωσία ἐκάλησε Μῆνα, οὗ κατ' εἰκόνα ἐγένοντο Βουμέγας, Ὀστάνης, Ἑρμῆς τρισμέγιστος, Κουρίτης, Πετόσιρις, Ζωδάριον, Βηρωσός, Ἀστράμψυχος, Ζωρόαστρις.

Ibid. VI. (col. 3228, Migne): καὶ Ζαράτας ὁ Πυθαγόρου διδάσκαλος ἐκάλει τὸ μὲν ἓν πατέρα, τὸ δὲ δύο μητέρα.

§ 15. Diogenes Laertios

(Flourished about A.D. 210)

Prooem. 2 (ed. Cobet, Paris, 1862): ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν Μάγων, ὧν ἄρξαι Ζωροάστρην τὸν Πέρσην, Ἑρμόδωρος μὲν ὁ Πλατωνικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ μαθημάτων φησὶ εἰς τὴν Τροίας ἅλωσιν ἔτη γεγονέναι πεντακισχίλια·[1] Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχίλιά φησι, καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως.

Ibid. 6: τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐκ ἔγνωσαν [*sc.* οἱ Μάγοι], φησὶν Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ Μαγικῷ καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. Ἀριστοτέλης δ' ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ φιλοσοφίας καὶ πρεσ-

[1] Two MSS., ἑξακισχίλια.

βυτέρους εἶναι τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· καὶ δύο κατ' αὐτοὺς εἶναι ἀρχάς, ἀγαθὸν δαίμονα καὶ κακὸν δαίμονα, καὶ τῷ μὲν ὄνομα εἶναι Ζεὺς καὶ Ὡρομάσδης, τῷ δὲ Ἅιδης καὶ Ἀρειμάνιος. φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ Ἕρμιππος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ περὶ Μάγων καὶ Εὔδοξος ἐν τῇ Περιόδῳ καὶ Θεόπομπος ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν Φιλιππικῶν, ὃς καὶ ἀναβιώσεσθαι κατὰ τοὺς Μάγους φησὶ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ ἔσεσθαι ἀθανάτους, καὶ τὰ ὄντα ταῖς αὐτῶν ἐπικλήσεσι διαμένειν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ Εὔδημος ὁ Ῥόδιος ἱστορεῖ. Ἑκαταῖος δὲ καὶ γενητοὺς τοὺς θεοὺς εἶναι κατ' αὐτούς. Κλέαρχος δὲ ὁ Σολεὺς ἐν τῷ περὶ παιδείας καὶ τοὺς Γυμνοσοφιστὰς ἀπογόνους εἶναι τῶν Μάγων φησίν· ἔνιοι δὲ καὶ τοὺς Ἰουδαίους ἐκ τούτων εἶναι.

§ 16. Arnobius

(Wrote about A.D. 295)

Adv. Gentes I. 5 (col. 727 f., ed. Migne): ut inter Assyrios et Bactrianos, Nino quondam Zoroastreque ductoribus, non tantum ferro dimicaretur et uiribus, uerum etiam Magicis et Chaldaeorum ex reconditis disciplinis, inuidia nostra haec fuit?

Ibid. I. 52 (col. 788 ff.): Age nune, ueniat quis super igneam zonam, magus interiore ab orbe Zoroastres, Hermippo ut assentiamur auctori. Bactrianus et ille conueniat, cuius Ctesias res gestas historiarum exponit in primo, Armenius Hosthanis[1] nepos, etc.

§ 17. Porphurios

(A.D. 233 to about A.D. 304)

Vit. Pythagorae 12: ἔν τε Ἀραβίᾳ τῷ βασιλεῖ συνῆν [ὁ Πυθαγόρας] ἔν τε Βαβυλῶνι τοῖς τ' ἄλλοις Χαλδαίοις συνεγένετο καὶ πρὸς Ζάβρατον ἀφίκετο, παρ' οὗ καὶ ἀκαθάρθη τὰ τοῦ προτέρου βίου λύματα καὶ ἐδιδάχθη ἀφ' οὗ ἁγνεύειν προσήκει τοῖς σπουδαίοις, τόν τε περὶ φύσεως λόγον ἤκουσε καὶ τίνες αἱ τῶν ὅλων ἀρχαί. ἐκ γὰρ τῆς περὶ ταῦτα τὰ ἔθνη πλάνης ὁ Πυθαγόρας τὸ πλεῖστον τῆς σοφίας ἐνεπορεύσατο.

De antro nympharum 6: οὕτω καὶ Πέρσαι τὴν εἰς κάτω κάθοδον τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ πάλιν ἔξοδον μυσταγωγοῦντες τελοῦσι τὸν μύστην, ἐπονομάσαντες σπήλαιον τόπον· πρῶτα μὲν ὥς φησιν Εὔβουλος, Ζωροάστρου αὐτοφυὲς σπήλαιον ἐν τοῖς πλησίον ὄρεσι τῆς Περσίδος ἀνθηρὸν καὶ πηγὰς ἔχον ἀνιερώσαντος εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ πάντων ποιητοῦ καὶ πατρὸς Μίθρου, εἰκόνα φέροντος αὐτῷ τοῦ σπηλαίου τοῦ κόσμου, ὃν ὁ Μίθρας ἐδημιούργησε, τῶν δὲ ἐντὸς κατὰ συμμέτρους ἀποστάσεις σύμβολα φερόντων τῶν κοσμικῶν στοιχείων καὶ κλιμάτων· μετὰ δὲ τοῦτον Ζωροάστρην κρατήσαντος καὶ παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις

[1] MSS. Zostriani, cf. Windischmann, *Zor. Stud.* 289.

δι' ἄντρων καὶ σπηλαίων εἴτ' οὖν αὐτοφυῶν εἴτε χειροποιήτων τὰς τελετὰς ἀποδιδόναι.[1]

De Vita Plotini § 16: γεγόνασι δὲ κατ' αὐτὸν τῶν Χριστιανῶν πολλοὶ μὲν καὶ ἄλλοι, αἱρετικοὶ δὲ ἐκ τῆς παλαιᾶς φιλοσοφίας ἀνηγμένοι οἱ περὶ Ἀδέλφιον καὶ Ἀκυλῖνον, οἳ τὰ Ἀλεξάνδρου τοῦ Λίβυος καὶ Φιλοκώμου καὶ Δημοστράτου καὶ Λυδοῦ συγγράμματα πλεῖστα κεκτημένοι, ἀποκαλύψεις τε προφέροντες Ζωροάστρου καὶ Ζωστριανοῦ καὶ Νικοθέου καὶ Ἀλλογενοῦς καὶ Μέσου καὶ ἄλλων τοιούτων πολλοὺς ἐξηπάτων καὶ αὐτοὶ ἠπατημένοι, ὡς δὴ τοῦ Πλάτωνος εἰς τὸ βάθος τῆς νοητῆς οὐσίας οὐ πελάσαντος. ὅθεν αὐτὸς μὲν πολλοὺς ἐλέγχους ποιούμενος ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις, γράψας δὲ καὶ βιβλίον, ὅπερ πρὸς τοὺς γνωστικοὺς ἐπεγράψαμεν, ἡμῖν τὰ λοιπὰ κρίνειν καταλέλοιπεν. Ἀμέλιος δὲ ἄχρι τεσσαράκοντα βιβλίων προκεχώρηκε πρὸς τὸ Ζωστριανοῦ βιβλίον ἀντιγράφων. Πορφύριος δὲ ἐγὼ πρὸς τὸ Ζωροάστρου συχνοὺς πεποίημαι ἐλέγχους, ὅπως νόθον τε καὶ νέον τὸ βιβλίον παραδεικνύς, πεπλασμένον τε ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν αἵρεσιν συστησαμένων εἰς δόξαν τοῦ εἶναι τοῦ παλαιοῦ Ζωροάστρου τὰ δόγματα, ἃ αὐτοὶ εἵλοντο πρεσβεύειν.

§ 18. Eusebios

(About A.D. 264–340)

This passage is usually assigned to Philo Byblius (flor. circ. A.D. 125), Fragm. 9, apud Euseb. Praep. Evang. I. 10 (tom. iii. col. 88, ed. Migne): καὶ Ζωροάστρης δὲ ὁ μάγος ἐν τῇ ἱερᾷ συναγωγῇ τῶν Περσικῶν φησι κατὰ λέξιν· Ὁ δὲ θεός ἐστι κεφαλὴν ἔχων ἱέρακος. οὗτός ἐστιν ὁ πρῶτος ἄφθαρτος, ἀΐδιος, ἀγέννητος, ἀμερής, ἀνομοιότατος, ἡνίοχος παντὸς καλοῦ, ἀδωροδόκητος, ἀγαθῶν ἀγαθώτατος, φρονίμων φρονιμώτατος· ἐστὶ δὲ καὶ πατὴρ εὐνομίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης, αὐτοδίδακτος, φυσικός, καὶ τέλειος, καὶ σοφός, καὶ ἱεροῦ φυσικοῦ μόνος εὑρετής. τὰ δὲ αὐτὰ καὶ Ὀστάνης φησὶ περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ ἐπιγραφομένῃ Ὀκτατεύχῳ.

Ibid. X. 9, 10 (col. 805 seq., ed. Migne): οὗ Νίνος ἐπώνυμος πόλις, ἣ Νινευὶ παρ' Ἑβραίοις ὠνόμασται, καθ' ὃν Ζωροάστρης ὁ μάγος Βακτρίων ἐβασίλευσε. Νίνου δὲ γυνὴ καὶ διάδοχος τῆς βασιλείας Σεμίραμις· ὥστ' εἶναι τὸν Ἀβραὰμ κατὰ τούτους.

Eusebius Chron. II. 35, ed. Aucher (to year 9 of Abraham): Zoroastres magus rex Bactrianorum clarus habetur: aduersum quem Ninus dimicauit.

[1] Thus Nietzsche in his 'Also sprach Zarathustra' makes the Sage dwell in a cave, with a serpent and an eagle as his faithful companions.

§ 19. C. Iul. Solinus Polyhistor

(A.D. Third or Fourth Century)

I. Nascentium uox prima uagitus est: laetitiae enim sensus differtur in quadrigesimum diem. itaque unum nouimus eadem hora risisse, qua erat natus, scilicet Zoroastrem, mox optimarum artium peritissimum.

§ 20. Basilios Megas

(A.D. 329–379)

Epist. CCLVIII. (tom. iv. col. 953, ed. Migne): *τὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀβραὰμ γεναλογίας οὐδεὶς ἡμῖν μέχρι τοῦ παρόντος τῶν μάγων ἐμυθολόγησεν· ἀλλὰ Ζαροῦάν τινα ἑαυτοῖς ἀρχηγὸν τοῦ γένους ἐπιφημίζουσι.*

§ 21. Epiphanios of Constantia

(A.D. 298–403)

Adv. Haereses, Lib. I. Tom. I. 6 (tom. i. col. 185 seq., ed. Migne): *Νεβρὼθ γὰρ βασιλεύει υἱὸς τοῦ Χοῦς τοῦ Αἰθίοπος, ἐξ οὗ Ἀσσοῦρ γεγέννηται. τούτου ἡ βασιλεία ἐν Ὀρὲχ γεγέννηται, καὶ ἐν Ἀρφὰλ, καὶ Χαλάννη. κτίζει δὲ καὶ τὴν Θειρὰς καὶ τὴν Θόβελ καὶ Λόβον ἐν τῇ Ἀσσυρίων χώρᾳ. τοῦτόν φασι παῖδες Ἑλλήνων εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.*[1] *ἐντεῦθεν τὰ κατὰ τὴν γῆν παράνομα διανενέμηται. ἐφευρέτης γὰρ οὗτος γεγένηται κακῆς διδαχῆς ἀστρολογίας καὶ μαγείας, ὥς τινές φασι περὶ τούτου τοῦ Ζωροάστρου. πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια περιέχει τοῦ Νεβρὼθ τοῦ γίγαντος οὗτος ἦν ὁ χρόνος. οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασιν ἄμφω, ὅ τε Νεβρὼθ καὶ ὁ Ζωροάστρης.*

§ 22. Ammianus Marcellinus

(About 330–400)

XXIII. 6, 32–34: magiam opinionum insignium auctor amplissimus Plato machagistiam esse uerbo mystico docet, diuinorum incoruptissimum cultum, cuius scientiae saeculis priscis multa ex Chaldaeorum arcanis Bactrianus addidit Zoroastres, deinde Hystaspes rex prudentissimus Darei pater. qui cum superioris Indiae secreta fidentius penetraret, ad nemorosam quandam uenerat solitudinem,

[1] The same statement is later repeated by Prokopios of Gaza, see below, § 33.

cuius tranquillis silentiis praecelsa Bracmanorum ingenia potiuntur, eorumque monitu rationes mundani motus et siderum purosque sacrorum ritus quantum colligere potuit eruditus, ex his quae didicit, aliqua sensibus magorum infudit, quae illi cum disciplinis praesentiendi futura per suam quisque progeniem posteris aetatibus tradunt. ex eo per saecula multa ad praesens una eademque prosapia multitudo creata deorum cultibus dedicatur. feruntque, si iustum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodiri, cuius portionem exiguam ut faustam praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt.

§ 23. Marius Victorinus Afer

(About A.D. 350)

Ad Iustinum Manichaeum (col. 1003, ed. Migne): Iam uidistine ergo quot Manis, Zoradis, aut Buddas haec docendo deceperint?

§ 24. Hieronymus

(A.D. 331–420)

Epist. 132 (tom. i. col. 1153, ed. Migne): In Hispania Agape Elpidium, mulier uirum, caecum caeca duxit in foueam, successoremque qui Priscillianum habuit, Zoroastris magi studiosissimum, et ex mago episcopum, cui iuncta Galla non gente sed nomine, germanam huc illucque currentem alterius et uicinae haereseos reliquit haeredem.

§ 25. Iohannes Chrustostomos

(A.D. 347–407)

Lib. de S. Babyla contra Iulianum et Gentiles (tom. ii. col. 536, ed. Migne): *εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, διὰ τί τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν Ζάμολξιν οὐδὲ ἐξ ὀνόματος ἴσασιν οἱ πολλοί, μᾶλλον δὲ οὐδέ τινες πλὴν ὀλίγων τινῶν; ἆρ' οὐχ ὅτι πλάσματα ἦν τὰ περὶ ἐκείνων λεγόμενα ἅπαντα; καίτοι γε κἀκεῖνοι καὶ οἱ τὰ ἐκείνων συνθέντες δεινοὶ γενέσθαι λέγονται, οἱ μὲν γοητείαν εὑρεῖν καὶ ἐργάσασθαι, οἱ δὲ συσκιάσαι ψεῦδος τῇ τῶν λόγων πιθανότητι. ἀλλὰ πάντα μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ, ὅταν ἡ τῶν λεγομένων ὑπόθεσις σαθρὰ καί ψευδὴς οὖσα τύχῃ, ὥσπερ οὖν, ὅταν ἰσχυρὰ καὶ ἀληθής, ἅπαντα πάλιν μάτην γίνεται καὶ εἰκῇ τὰ πρὸς ἀνατροπὴν ἐπινοούμενα παρὰ τῶν ἐχθρῶν· οὐδεμίας γὰρ δεῖται βοηθείας ἡ τῆς ἀληθείας ἰσχύς.*

§ 26. Aurelius Prudentius Clemens

(A.D. 348 to about A.D. 410[1])

Apotheosis, 492 ff.:

ecquis alumnus
Chrismatis inscripto signaret tempora ligno;
Qui Zoroastraeos turbasset fronte susurros.

§ 27. Paulus Orosius

(Wrote about A.D. 417)

Hist. I. 4 (col. 700, ed. Migne): Nouissime Zoroastrem Bactrianorum regem, eundemque magicae (ut ferunt) artis repertorem, pugna oppressum [*sc.* Ninus] interfecit.[2]

The passage contains some account also of Semiramis as well as of Ninus.

§ 28. Aurelius Augustinus

(A.D. 354–430)

De Civ. Dei, XXI. 14 (tom. vii. col. 728, ed. Migne): Solum quando natus est ferunt risisse Zoroastrem, nec ei boni aliquid monstrosus risus ille portendit. nam magicarum artium fuisse perhibetur inuentor; quae quidem illi nec ad praesentis uitae uanam felicitatem contra suos inimicos prodesse potuerunt. a Nino quippe rege Assyriorum, cum esset ipse Bactrianorum, bello superatus est.

§ 29. Kurillos Alexandrinos

(About A.D. 376–444)

Contra Iulian. III. (tom. ix. col. 633, ed. Migne): ὅτι μὲν οὖν οἱ Μάγοι Περσικόν εἰσι γένος, ἐροῦσί που πάντως. Ζωροάστρην γε μὴν οὐδεὶς ἀπαλλάξειε λόγος τοῦ ταῖς μαγικαῖς ἐνισχῆσθαι τέχναις, οὗ δὴ καὶ πανάριστον ζηλωτὴν Πυθαγόραν φασίν, ὡς καὶ βίβλους ἀπορρήτους παρ᾽ αὐτοῦ συντεθειμένας αὐχῆσαί τινας.

[1] Quoted also by Gregory of Tours, *Miraculor.* lib. i. cap. 41 (col. 743, ed. Migne).

[2] Praised by Ekkehard Urangiensis, col. 505, ed. Migne (vol. 154).

§ 30. Theodoretos of Cyrus

(About A.D. 387–457)

Graecarum Affectionum Curatio, IX. de legibus (tom. iv. col. 1045, ed. Migne): ἀλλὰ κατὰ τοὺς Ζαράδου πάλαι Πέρσαι πολιτευόμενοι νόμους, καὶ μητράσι καὶ ἀδελφαῖς ἀδεῶς καὶ μέντοι καὶ θυγατράσι μιγνύμενοι, καὶ ἔννομον τὴν παρανομίαν νομίζοντες, ἐπειδὴ τῆς τῶν ἀλιέων νομοθεσίας ἐπήκουσαν, τοὺς μὲν Ζαράδου νόμους ὡς παρανομίαν ἐπάτησεν, τὴν εὐαγγελικὴν δὲ σωφροσύνην ἠγάπησαν. καὶ κυσὶ καὶ οἰωνοῖς τοὺς νεκροὺς προτιθέναι παρ' ἐκείνου μεμαθηκότες, νῦν τοῦτο δρᾶν οἱ πιστεύσαντες οὐκ ἀνέχονται, ἀλλὰ τῇ γῇ κατακρύπτουσι, καὶ τῶν τοῦτο δρᾶν ἀπαγορευόντων οὐ φροντίζουσι νόμων, οὔδε πεφρίκασι τὴν τῶν κολαζόντων ὠμότητα.

§ 31. Claudianus Mamertus

(Wrote about A.D. 470)

De statu animae, II. 8 (col. 750, ed. Migne): Quid ego nunc Zoroastri, quid Brachmanum ex India, quid Anacharsis e Scythia, quid uero Catonum, quid M. Ciceronis, quid Crysippi, qui ab ipso paene principio sui operis animo dominandi ius tribuit, corpori legem seruitutis imponit, in defensionem ueri sententias adferam?

§ 32. Iohannes Laurentios Ludos

(Born about A.D. 490)

De Mensibus, II. 3 (p. 14, ed. Bonnenn.): [ὅτι οἱ περὶ Ζωροάστρην καὶ Ὑστάσπην Χαλδαῖοι καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν πλανήτων ἐν ἑβδομάδι τὰς ἡμέρας ἀνέλαβον, καὶ τὴν μὲν πρώτην ἡμέραν μίαν, ὡς καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, καλοῦσιν ἐκ τῆς μονάδος, ὅτι μόνη καὶ ἀκοινώνητος ταῖς ἄλλαις.]

Ibid. II. 5 (p. 16, ed. Bonnenn.): τοσαῦτα μὲν περὶ τῆς μιᾶς, ἣν ὡς ἔφην πρώτην τό πλῆθος καλεῖ, ἣν κατ' αἴσθησιν ἡλίῳ ἀνέθεντο, ταμίᾳ μὲν τοῦ παντὸς αἰσθητοῦ φωτός, δι' οὗ θερμαίνει τε ἅμα καὶ ἠρέμα ξηραίνει τὰ σώματα, ἑνὶ τῶν πλανήτων καθ' Ἕλληνας, κἂν εἰ Ζωροάστρης αὐτὸν πρὸ τῶν ἀπλανῶν τάττῃ.

Ibid. De Ostentis, 2 (p. 274, ed. Bonnenn.): ἁρμόδιον δὲ εἶναι νομίζω τῷ περὶ τῶν τοιούτων γράφειν ἐθέλοντι, πόθεν τε ἡ τῶν τοιούτων κατάληψις ἤρξατο λέγειν, καὶ ὅθεν ἔσχε τὰς ἀφορμάς, καὶ ὅπως ἐπὶ τοσοῦτον

προ^{ῆλθεν} ὡς καὶ αὐτούς, εἰ θέμις εἰπεῖν, Αἰγυπτίους ὑπερβαλεῖν. τούτων γὰρ δή, μετὰ Ζωροάστρην τὸν πολὺν, Πετόσιρις τοῖς εἰδικοῖς τὰ ἐν γένει διαπλέξας πολλὰ μὲν κατ' αὐτὸν παραδοῦναι βιάζεται, οὐ πᾶσι δὲ παραδίδωσι ταῦτα, μόνοις δὲ τοῖς καθ' αὐτόν, μᾶλλον δὲ ὅσοι καὶ αὐτῶν πρὸς στοχασμοὺς ἐπιτηδειότεροι.

§ 33. Prokopios of Gaza

(Flourished about A.D. 500)

Comment. in Genesin [c. XI.] (tom. i. col. 312, ed. Migne): τὸν Ἀσσούρ φασιν οἱ Ἕλληνες εἶναι τὸν Ζωροάστρην, ὃς πρόσω χωρήσας ἐπὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη οἰκιστὴς γίνεται Βάκτρων.[1] οὗτός φασιν ἐξεῦρεν ἀστρολογίαν· πλὴν ὡς ἡ ἀκρίβεια τοῦ Νεβρὼδ τοῦ γίγαντος περιέχει, οὗτος ἦν ὁ Κρόνος· οὐ πολὺ δὲ ἀλλήλων τῷ χρόνῳ διεστήκασι Νεβρώδ τε καὶ Ζωροάστρης· ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν Ἀρφαξάδ φασιν εὑρηκέναι τὴν ἀστρολογίαν.

§ 34. Ainaias of Gaza

(About A.D. 500)

Theophrastus, 77: καίτοι καὶ Πλάτων τῷ σώματι τὸν Ἀρμένιον ἐξ Ἅιδου πρὸς τοὺς ζῶντας ἀνάγει. ὁ δὲ Ζωροάστρης προλέγει ὡς ἔσται ποτὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ πάντων νεκρῶν ἀνάστασις ἔσται. οἶδεν ὁ Θεόπομπος ὅ λέγω καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους αὐτὸς ἐκδιδάσκει.

§ 35. Agathias Scholastikos

(About A.D. 536–582)

Hist. II. 24 (col. 1381 f., ed. Migne): Πέρσαις δὲ τοῖς νῦν τὰ μὲν πρότερα ἔθη σχεδόν τι ἅπαντα παρεῖται ἀμέλει καὶ ἀνατέτραπται, ἀλλοίοις δέ τισι καὶ οἷον νενοθευμένοις χρῶνται νομίμοις, ἐκ τῶν Ζωροάστρου τοῦ Ὀρμάσδεως διδαγμάτων κατακληθέντες. οὗτος δὲ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος[2] ἤτοι Ζαράδης — διττὴ γὰρ ἐπ' αὐτῷ ἡ ἐπωνυμία — ὁπηνίκα μὲν ἤκμασεν τὴν ἀρχὴν καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἔθετο, οὐκ ἔνεστι σαφῶς διαγνῶναι. Πέρσαι δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ νῦν ἐπὶ Ὑστάσπεω, οὕτω δή τι ἁπλῶς φασι γεγονέναι, ὡς λίαν ἀμφιγνοεῖσθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι μαθεῖν, πότερον Δαρείου πατὴρ εἴτε καὶ ἄλλος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν Ὑστάσπης. ἐφ' ὅτῳ δ' ἂν καὶ ἤνθησε χρόνῳ, ὑφηγετὴς αὐτοῖς ἐκεῖνος καὶ καθηγεμὼν τῆς μαγικῆς γέγονεν ἁγιστείας, καὶ αὐτὰς δὴ τὰς προτέρας ἱερουγίας ἀμείψας, παμμιγεῖς τινας καὶ ποικίλας ἐνέθηκε δόξας. τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ

[1] For this statement, see Epiphanios of Constantia, above, § 21.

[2] Vulg. Ζωρόαδος; R. Ζορόαστρος.

Κρόνον καὶ τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἕλλησι θρυλλουμένους ἐτίμων θεοὺς πλήν γε ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ προσηγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο. ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχόν, Σάνδην τε τὸν Ἡρακλέα, καὶ Ἀναίτιδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην, καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκάλουν, ὥς που Βηρωσσῷ τε τῷ Βαβυλωνίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνοκλεῖ καὶ Σιμάκῳ, τοῖς τὰ ἀρχαιότατα τῶν Ἀσσυρίων τε καὶ Μήδων ἀναγραψαμένοις, ἱστόρηται. νῦν δὲ ὡς τὰ πολλὰ τοῖς καλουμένοις Μανιχαίοις ξυμφέρονται, ἐσόσον δύο τὰς πρώτας ἠγεῖσθαι ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀγαθήν τε ἅμα καὶ τὰ κάλλιστα τῶν ὄντων ἀποκυήσασαν, ἐναντίως δὲ κατ' ἄμφω ἔχουσαν τὴν ἑτέραν. ὀνόματά τε αὐταῖς ἐπάγουσι βαρβαρικὰ καὶ τῇ σφετέρᾳ γλώττῃ πεποιημένα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ ἀγαθόν, εἴτε θεὸν εἴτε δημιουργόν, Ὡρμισδάτην[1] ἀποκαλοῦσιν, Ἀριμάνης δὲ ὄνομα τῷ κακίστῳ καὶ ὀλεθρίῳ. ἑορτήν τε πασῶν μείζονα τὴν τῶν κακῶν λεγομένην ἀναίρεσιν ἐκτελοῦσιν, ἐν ᾗ τῶν τε ἑρπετῶν πλεῖστα καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ζώων ὁπόσα ἄγρια καὶ ἐρημονόμα κατακτείνοντες, τοῖς μάγοις προσάγουσιν, ὥσπερ ἐς ἐπίδειξιν εὐσεβείας. ταύτῃ γὰρ οἴονται τῷ μὲν ἀγαθῷ κεχαρισμένα διαπονεῖσθαι, ἀνιᾶν δὲ καὶ λυμαίνεσθαι τὸν Ἀριμάνην. γεραίρουσι δὲ ἐς τὸ μάλιστα τὸ ὕδωρ, ὡς μηδὲ τὰ πρόσωπα αὐτῷ ἐναπονίζεσθαι, μήτε ἄλλως ἐπιθιγγάνειν ὅτι μὴ ποτοῦ τε ἕκατι καὶ τῆς τῶν φυτῶν ἐπιμελείας.

§ 36. Scholastikos Kassianos Bassos

(A.D. Sixth Century)

Praef. in lib. I.: τὰ διαφόροις τῶν παλαιῶν περί τε γεωργίας καὶ ἐπιμελείας φυτῶν καὶ σπορίμων καὶ ἑτέρων πολλῶν χρησίμων εἰρημένα συλλέξας εἰς ἕν, τουτὶ τὸ βιβλίον συντέθεικα. συνείλεκται δὲ ἐκ τῶν Φλωρεντίνου καὶ Οὐινδανιωνίου καὶ Ἀνατολίου καὶ Βηρουτίου καὶ Διοφάνους καὶ Λεοντίνου καὶ Ταραντίνου καὶ Δημοκρίτου καὶ Ἀφρικανοῦ παραδόξων καὶ Παμφίλου καὶ Ἀπουληίου καὶ Βάρωνος καὶ Ζωροάστρου καὶ Φρόντωνος καὶ Παξάμου καὶ Δαμηγέροντος καὶ Διδύμου καὶ Σωτίονος καὶ τῶν Κυντιλίων.

Geoponica, 11. 18. 11: Ζωροάστρης δὲ λέγει, ἐπὶ ἐνιαυτὸν ἕνα μὴ ἀλγεῖν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, τὸν ἐν πρώτοις ἰδόντα ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ μεμυκυίας κάλυκας, καὶ τρισὶν ἐξ αὐτῶν ἀπομαξάμενον τὰ ὄμματα, καὶ ἐπὶ τοῦ φυτοῦ τὰ ῥόδα καταλιπόντα.

Ibid. 13. 9. 10: Ζωροάστρης φησί, τῆς θρίδακος τὸ σπέρμα μετὰ οἴνου ποθὲν ἰᾶται τοὺς σκορπιοδήκτους.

Geoponica (continued): The following rubrics of "Zoroaster" will sufficiently indicate the character of the lore ascribed to him, without the necessity of presentation of the texts of the chapters under them.

[1] Vulg. Ὡρμισδάστην.

I. 7: *ὅτι ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστιν εἰδέναι, πότε ἡ σελήνη γίνεται ὑπὲρ γῆν, πότε δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν. Ζωροάστρου.* (31 sections, pp. 11–15, ed. Beckh.)

I. 8: *περὶ τῆς τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολῆς καὶ τῆς προγνώσεως τῶν ἐξ αὐτῆς συμβαινόντων. τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* (13 sections, pp. 15–17.)

I. 10: *σημείωσις τῶν ἀποτελουμένων ἐκ τῆς πρώτης βροντῆς καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος, μετὰ τὴν τοῦ κυνὸς ἐπιτολήν. Ζωροάστρου.* (13 sections, pp. 19 seq.)

I. 12: *δωδεκαετηρὶς τοῦ Διός, καὶ ὅσα ἀποτελεῖ περιπολεύων τοὺς δώδεκα οἴκους τοῦ ζωδιακοῦ κύκλου. Ζωροάστρου.* (40 sections, pp. 21–28.)

II. 15: *προγνωστικόν, ὥστε εἰδέναι, ποῖα τῶν σπειρομένων γενήσονται εὐθαλῆ. Ζωροάστρου.* (3 sections, p. 55.)

V. 46: *ἐν ποίῳ οἴκῳ οὔσης τῆς σελήνης χρὴ τρυγᾶν, καὶ ὅτι ληγούσης αὐτῆς καὶ ὑπογείου οὔσης τὸν τρυγητὸν δεῖ ποιεῖν. Ζωροάστρου.* (1 section, p. 164.)

VII. 5: *περὶ ἀνοίξεως πίθων, καὶ τί χρὴ παραφυλάττεσθαι τῷ καιρῷ τῆς τούτων ἀνοίξεως. Ζωροάστρου.* (3 sections, pp. 190 seq.)

VII. 6: *περὶ μεταγγισμοῦ οἴνου, καὶ πότε χρὴ μεταντλεῖν τοὺς οἴνους, καὶ ὅτι διαφορὰν ἔχει ὁ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ πίθῳ ἐμβεβλημένος οἶνος. τοῦ αὐτοῦ.* (11 sections, pp. 191 seq.)

VII. 11: *ὥστε ὑπὸ βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν μὴ τρέπεσθαι τοὺς οἴνους. Ζωροάστρου.* (1 section, p. 195.)

X. 83: *δένδρον ἄκαρπον καρποφορεῖν. Ζωροάστρου.* (3 sections, p. 319.)

XIII. 16: *περὶ κανθαρίδων. Ζωροάστρου.* (4 sections, p. 403.)

XV. 1: *περὶ φυσικῶν συμπαθειῶν καὶ ἀντιπαθειῶν. Ζωροάστρου.* (35 sections, pp. 432–436.)

§ 37. Gregorius Turonensis

(A.D. 538–593)

Hist. Francor. 1. 5 (col. 164 seq., ed. Migne): Primogenitus uero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae imbuente diabolo et primus idololatriae adinuentor. hic primus statuunculam adorandam diaboli instigatione constituit: qui et stellas et ignem de coelo cadere falsa uirtute hominibus ostentebat. hic ad Persas transiit. hunc Persae uocitauere Zoroastrem, id est uiuentem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueti, ipsum diuinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

§ 38. Isidorus

(About A.D. 570–636)

Etymol. 5. 39 (tom. iii. col. 224, ed. Migne): Thara, an. LXX, genuit Abraham. Zoroastes magicam reperit.

Ibid. 8. 9 (col. 310), III. M. CLXXXIV.: Magorum primus Zoroastes rex Bactrianorum, quem Ninus rex Assyriorum praelio interfecit, de quo Aristoteles scribit quod uicies centum millia uersuum ab ipso condita indiciis uoluminum eius declarentur.

Chron. (tom. v. col. 1024, ed. Migne): Hac aetate magica ars in Perside a Zoroaste Bactrianorum rege reperta. a Nino rege occiditur.

§ 39. Chronicon Paschale or Chron. Alexandrinum

(Last Date A.D. 629[1])

Chron. Paschale (col. 148 seq., ed. Migne; I. p. 67, ed. Bonnenn.): *καὶ τελευτᾷ ὁ Κρόνος. ὁ δὲ Νίνος ἐπικρατὴς γενόμενος τῆς Ἀσσυρίας κτίζει τὴν Νινευὴ πόλιν Ἀσσυρίοις, καὶ βασιλεύει πρῶτος ἐν αὐτῇ ἔχων τὴν Σεμίραμιν τὴν καὶ Ῥέαν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ μητέρα καὶ γυναῖκα μεθ' ἑαυτοῦ.*

ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος[2] *ὁ ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ηὔχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἰπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὅτι ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὀστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὀστέα. καὶ εὐξάμενος τὸν Ὡρίωνα ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου ἀνηλώθη. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἔχουσι φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν.*

The same story is found in almost the same words, or with no material addition, in the works of Iohan. Malalas (A.D. sixth century) (col. 84, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 18, ed. Bonnenn.); Georgios Hamartolos (d. circ. A.D. 1468), Chron. (col. 56, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 110). See, also, Georgios Kedrenos (end of eleventh century A.D.), who also adds (Historiarum Compendium, col. 57, ed. Migne, Patrolog. Gr. tom. 121; p. 29 f., ed. Bonnenn.): *τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι ἕως τούτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον.*

[1] But with a spurious addition to A.D. 1042; cf. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*[2], pp. 337–339).

[2] P, *Ζοροάστρης.*

§ 40. Flaccus Albinus Alcuinus

(A.D. 735–804)

De diuin. offic. VI. (spurious) (tom. ii. col. 1178, ed. Migne): Istorum enim Magorum primus Zoroastres rex exstitit, a quo originem feruntur traxisse.

§ 41. Georgios Sunkellos

(Flourished about A.D. 775–800)

Vol. i. p. 147 f., ed. Bonnenn.: Ἀλέξανδρος ὁ Πολυίστωρ ἐκ τοῦδε τοῦ ,βυε΄ [2405] κοσμικοῦ ἔτους βούλεται πάλιν τὴν μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν τῶν Χαλδαίων βασιλείαν κατάρξασθαι μυθολογῶν διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων βεβασιλευκέναι Χαλδαίων καὶ Μήδων βασιλεῖς πϛ΄ [86] ἐν τρισμυρίοις ἔτεσι καὶ ,δϟ΄ [49], τοῦτ᾽ ἔστιν ἐν σάροις θ΄ [9] καὶ νήροις β΄ [2] καὶ σώσσοις η΄ [8], ἅπερ τινὲς τῶν ἐκκλησιαστικῶν ἡμῶν ἱστορικῶν οὐ καλῶς ἐξελάβοντο πάλιν εἰς ἔτη ἡλιακὰ ϟδ΄ [94] καὶ μῆνας η΄ [8], ἅπερ ὥς φασιν εἰς τὸ ,βυϟθ΄ [2499] ἔτος κοσμικὸν συντρέχει. ἀπὸ δὲ τούτου τοῦ χρόνου τῶν πϛ΄ [86] δύο μὲν Χαλδαίων βασιλέων, Εὐηχίου καὶ Χωμασβήλου, πδ΄ [84] δὲ τῶν Μήδων, Ζωροάστρην καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτὸν ζ΄ [7] Χαλδαίων βασιλεῖς εἰσάγει, ἔτη κρατήσαντας ἡλιακὰ ρϟ΄ [190], ὁ αὐτὸς Πολυίστωρ, οὐκέτι διὰ σάρων καὶ νήρων καὶ σώσσων καὶ τῆς λοιπῆς ἀλόγου μυθικῆς ἱστορίας, ἀλλὰ δι᾽ ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν. τοὺς γὰρ προγενεστέρους ὡς θεοὺς ἢ ἡμιθέους νομίζοντες καὶ τοὺς μετ᾽ αὐτοὺς τὴν πλάνην εἰσηγούμενοι τῷ ὄντι χρόνους ἀπείρους βεβασιλευκέναι συνέγραψαν, ἀίδιον εἶναι τὸν κόσμον δοξάζοντες ἐναντίως ταῖς θεοπνεύστοις γραφαῖς. τοὺς δὲ μεταγενεστέρους καὶ πᾶσι φανεροὺς δι᾽ ἡλιακῶν ἐτῶν ὡς θνητούς, καὶ οὐχ ὡς τῷ Πανοδώρῳ δοκεῖ καὶ ἑτέροις τισί, διὰ τὸ ἐσχάτως ὑπὸ Ζωροάστρου τῶν ἡλιακῶν ἐνιαυτῶν ἐκ τῶν τοῦ Ἐνὼχ ἐγνωσμένων ἔκτοτε ἡλιακοῖς ἔτεσιν ἐπιμετρεῖσθαι τὰ τῶν βασιλέων ἔτη.

Ibid. p. 315, ed. Bonnenn.: ὅτι δὲ ἀσυμφώνως οἱ τῶν Ἑλλήνων ἱστορικοὶ γεγράφασι περὶ τῶν χρόνων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων τούτων παρέστω Κεφαλίων ἐπίσημος εἷς, οὐχ ὁ τυχών, οὕτω φάσκων· Ἄρχομαι γράφειν ἀφ᾽ ὧν ἄλλοι τε ἐμνημόνευσαν καὶ τὰ πρῶτα Ἑλλάνικός τε ὁ Λέσβιος καὶ Κτησίης ὁ Κνίδιος, ἔπειτα Ἡρόδοτος ὁ Ἁλικαρνασεύς. τὸ παλαιὸν τῆς Ἀσίας ἐβασίλευσαν Ἀσσύριοι, τῶν δὲ ὁ Βήλου Νίνος. εἶτ᾽ ἐπάγει γένεσιν Σεμιράμεως καὶ Ζωροάστρου μάγου ἔτει νβ΄ [52] τῆς Νίνου βασιλείας.

(Also cited in the *Chronicon*, pars i., of Eusebius, tom. i. 43 f., ed. Aucher. Cf. Jerome's translation of the *Chronicon*, tom. viii. col. 46, ed. Migne.)

§ 42. Anathemas against Manichæism

(About 835)

Cited by Cotelerius, SS. Patrum qui temporibus apostolicis floruerunt opera. Paris, 1672; notes coll. 368–376.[1] These 'Anathemas' were to be recited by converts from Manichæism to Christianity. In this long and valuable document, Zarades (probably Zoroaster) and his prayers (the Avesta?) are declared accursed as being connected with the Manichæan faith. Anathemas: ἀναθεματίζω Ζαράδην ὃν ὁ Μάνης θεὸν ἔλεγε πρὸ αὐτοῦ φανέντα παρ' Ἰνδοῖς καὶ Πέρσαις, καὶ ἥλιον ἀπεκάλει· σὺν αὐτῷ δὲ καὶ τὰς Ζαραδείους ὀνομαζομένας εὐχάς. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς τὸν Ζαράδην καὶ Βουδᾶν καὶ τὸν Χριστὸν καὶ τὸν Μανιχαῖον καὶ τὸν ἥλιον ἕνα καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι λέγοντας. . . . ἀναθεματίζω τὸν πατέρα Μανέντος Πατέκιον οἷα ψεύστην καὶ τοῦ ψεύδους πατέρα, καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα Κάροσσαν, καὶ Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ὑπομνηματιστὰς καὶ ἐξηγητὰς τῶν τούτων συγγραμμάτων, καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς αὐτοῦ μαθητὰς ἅπαντας, Σισίννιον τὸν διάδοχον τῆς τούτου μηνίας, Θωμᾶν τὸν συνταξάμενον τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν λεγόμενον εὐαγγέλιον, Βουδᾶν, Ἑρμᾶν, Ἄδαν, Ἀδείμαντον, Ζαρούαν,[2] Γαβριάβιον, Ἀγάπιον, Ἰλάριον, Ὀλύμπιον, Ἀριστόκριτον, Σαλμαῖον, Ἰνναῖον, Πάαπιν, Βαραίαν, κ.τ.λ.

Similarly Goarius, Εὐχολόγιον siue Rituale Graecorum, Paris, 1647, p. 885: ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω Ζαράδην καὶ Βοδδᾶν καὶ Σκυθιανὸν τοὺς πρὸ Μανιχαίων γεγονότας. . . . πρὸς δὲ τούτοις ἀναθεματίζω καὶ καταθεματίζω σὺν τοῖς προγεγραμμένοις πᾶσιν Ἱέρακα καὶ Ἡρακλείδην καὶ Ἀφθόνιον τοὺς ἐξηγητὰς καὶ ὑπομνηματιστὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀνόμου καὶ βεβήλου Μανέντος καὶ Θωμᾶν καὶ Ζαρουὰν καὶ Γαβριάβιον.[3]

[1] See Kessler, *Mani*. i. 358–365, Berlin, 1889.

[2] Ζακούας siue Ζαχούας, Kessler.

[3] An important passage which serves to throw light on these Anathemas is found in Petros Sikelos (about A.D. 1100, see Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzant. Literatur*², p. 78), *Historia Manichæorum*, xvi. (col. 1265 seq., ed. Migne): —

ἦν δὲ πρὸ τούτου [*sc.* Μάνεντος] καὶ ἕτερος τῆς κακίας διδάσκαλος ταύτης, Ζαράνης ὀνόματι, ὁμόφρων αὐτοῦ ὑπάρχων· μαθεταὶ δὲ τούτου τοῦ ἀντιχρίστου Μάνεντος γεγόνασι δώδεκα· Σισίννιος ὁ τούτου διάδοχος· καὶ Θωμᾶς ὁ τὸ κατ' αὐτὸν Μανιχαικὸν εὐαγγέλιον συντάξας· Βουδδᾶς τε καὶ Ἑρμᾶς, Ἄδαντος καὶ Ἀδήμαντος, ὃν ἀπέστειλεν εἰς διάφορα κλίματα κήρυκα τῆς πλάνης· ἐξηγηταὶ δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπομνηματισταὶ γεγόνασιν Ἱέραξ καὶ Ἡρακλείδης καὶ Ἀφθόνιος· ὑπῆρχον δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἕτεροι μαθηταὶ τρεῖς, Ἀγάπιος ὁ τὴν Ἑπτάλογον συντάξας καὶ Ζαρούας καὶ Γαβριάβιος. . . . πᾶσαν γὰρ αὐτῶν βίβλον ὡς ἀσεβῆ διδάγματα κατέχουσαν καὶ βλασφημίας πάσης πεπληρωμένην καὶ πᾶσαν εὐχὴν λεγομένην παρ' αὐτῶν, μᾶλλον δὲ γοητείαν, ἡ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἁγία καθολικὴ καὶ ἀποστολικὴ Ἐκκλησία ἀνεθεμάτισε.

§ 43. Georgios Hamartolos Monachos

(Wrote about A.D. 850)

Chronicon, I. (col. 117, ed. Migne): *καὶ πρῶτον θύειν θεοῖς* Χαλδαῖοι *δὲ ἐξεῦρον ἤτοι* Κύπριοι, *διαφοροῦνται γὰρ ἔθνος* Περσικὸν *ὑπάρχοντες· τὴν δὲ ἀστρονομίαν ἐφευρηκέναι πρῶτοι* Βαβυλώνιοι *διὰ* Ὡρωάστρου,[1] *ἐξ ὧν δεύτεροι παρειλήφασιν* Αἰγύπτιοι. *τὴν γεωμετρίαν ἐκ τοῦ ἁπλέτου τῆς γῆς καὶ τῆς διαιρέσεως τῶν χώρων προδιδαχθέντες· καὶ εἶθ' οὕτω γράψαντες, ἕτεροι μετέλαβον. τὴν δὲ μαγείαν καὶ γοητείαν καὶ φαρμακείαν* Μῆδοι *μὲν ἐφεῦρον καὶ* Πέρσαι, *διαφέρουσι δὲ πρὸς ἀλλήλους· ἡ μὲν γὰρ μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων, ἀγαθοποιῶν δῆθεν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ σύστησίν τινος, ὥσπερ τὰ τοῦ* Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως *θεσπίσματα δι' ἀγαθῶν γεγόνασιν· ἡ δὲ γοητεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους τελουμένη ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασιν· ὅθεν καὶ γοητεία κέκληται ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ τῶν θρήνων τῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους γινομένων.*

See also under Chronicon Paschale, § **39**.

§ 44. Photios

(Patriarch of Constantinople A.D. 875–879)

Bibliotheca, Codd. LXXXI. (tom. iii.; col. 281, ed. Migne): *ἀνεγνώσθη βιβλιδάριον Θεοδώρου Περὶ τῆς ἐν Περσίδι μαγικῆς καὶ τίς ἡ τῆς εὐσεβείας διαφορά, ἐν λόγοις τρισί. προσφωνεῖ δὲ αὐτοὺς πρὸς* Μαστούβιον *ἐξ* Ἀρμενίας *ὁρμώμενον, χωρεπίσκοπον δὲ τυγχάνοντα. καὶ ἐν μὲν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ προστίθεται τὸ μιαρὸν* Περσῶν *δόγμα, ὃ* Ζαράδης[2] *εἰσηγήσατο, ἤτοι περὶ τοῦ* Ζουρουάμ,[3] *ὃν ἀρχηγὸν πάντων εἰσάγει, ὃν καὶ Τύχην καλεῖ· καὶ ὅτι σπένδων ἵνα τέκῃ τὸν* Ὁρμίσδαν, *ἔτεκεν ἐκεῖνον καὶ τὸν* Σατανᾶν· *καὶ περὶ τῆς αὐτῶν αἱμομιξίας. καὶ ἁπλῶς τὸ δυσσεβὲς καὶ ὑπέραισχρον δόγμα κατὰ λέξιν ἐκθεὶς ἀνασκευάζει ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ λόγῳ. ἐν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς δυσὶ λόγοις τὰ περὶ τῆς εὐσεβοῦς διέρχεται πίστεως, ἀπὸ τῆς κοσμογονίας ἀρξάμενος, καὶ περὶ αὐτῆς τῆς χάριτος ὁμοίως καὶ ἐπιτροχάδην διελθών.*

οὗτος ὁ Θεόδωρος *ὁ* Μοψουεστίας *εἶναι δοκεῖ. τήν τε γὰρ* Νεστορίου *αἵρεσιν, καὶ μάλιστα ἐν τῷ τρίτῳ λόγῳ, κρατύνων προσαναφωνεῖ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν ἀποκατάστασιν τερατεύεται.*

[1] Notice this contaminated form, a mixture of Zoroaster and Ormazd (?).

[2] Ζασράδης ς.

[3] Ζαρουάμ ς.

§ 45. Suidas

(Middle of Tenth Century A.D.)

Suidas (ed. Kuster, Cambr. 1705) sub voc.: Ἀντισθένης Ἀθηναῖος. . . . συνέγραψε τόμους δέκα, πρῶτον μαγικόν. ἀφηγεῖται δὲ περὶ Ζωροάστρου τινὸς μάγου εὑρέντος τὴν σοφίαν. τοῦτο δέ τινες Ἀριστοτέλει, οἱ δὲ Ῥόδωνι ἀνατιθέασιν.

Ἀστρονομία. ἡ τῶν ἄστρων διανομή. πρῶτοι Βαβυλώνιοι ταύτην ἐφεῦρον διὰ Ζωροάστρου· μεθ' ὃν καὶ Ὠστάνης· οἱ ἐπέστησαν τῇ οὐρανίᾳ κινήσει τὰ περὶ τοὺς τικτομένους συμβαίνειν.

Ζωροάστρης. Περσομήδης. σοφὸς παρὰ τοὺς ἐν τῇ ἀστρονομίᾳ. ὃς καὶ πρῶτος ἤρξατο τοῦ παρ' αὐτοῖς πολιτευομένου ὀνόματος τῶν Μάγων. ἐγένετο δὲ πρὸ τῶν Τρωικῶν ἔτεσιν φ' [500]. φέρεται δὲ αὐτοῦ περὶ φύσεως βιβλία δ'. περὶ λίθων τιμίων ἕν. ἀστεροσκοπικά. ἀποτελεσματικὰ βιβλία ε'.

Ζωροάστρης. Ἀστρονόμος. ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν. οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διὰ παντὸς, ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.

Ζωρομάσδρης. Χαλδαῖος σοφός. ἔγραψε μαθηματικὰ καὶ φυσικά.

Μάγοι παρὰ Πέρσαις οἱ φιλόσοφοι καὶ φιλόθεοι, ὧν ἦρχε Ζωροάστρης, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον κατὰ διαδοχὴν Ὠστάναι καὶ Ἀστράμψυχοι.

Πυθαγόρας. εἶτα [*sc.* ἤκουσε Πυθαγόρας] Ἀβάριδος τοῦ Ὑπερβορέου καὶ Ζάρητος τοῦ Μάγου.

§ 46. Hugo de Sancto Victore

(Died A.D. 1141)

Adnot. Elucidat. in Pentateuchon—in Gen. (tom. i. col. 49, ed. Migne): Assur autem, recedens in terram quae postea ab ipso dicta est Assyria, multiplicatus est usque ad regem Ninum, qui ab eius progenie ortus est. hic condidit ciuitatem et uicit Cham in bello, qui usque ad illud tempus uixerat: factus rex Bactriae Nino uicinus, et uocatus Zoroastes inuentor et auctor maleficae mathematicae artis; qui etiam septem liberales artes quattuordecim columnis, septem aeneis et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque diluuium in utilitatem posterorum praeuidens scripsit. huius libros mathema-

ticae Ninus adeptus uictoriam combussit. post haec audacior factus inuasit Nemroth, id est Chaldaeos, et acquisiuit Babyloniam, transferens illuc caput imperii sui.

§ 47. Michael Glukas

(Flourished about A.D. 1150)

Ann. Pars II. (col. 253, ed. Migne; p. 244, ed. Bonnenn.): *μετὰ δὲ Κρόνον ἐβασίλευσε Νῖνος ἔτη νβ', ὅς γε τὴν οἰκείαν μητέρα Σεμίραμιν λαβὼν εἰς γυναῖκα, νόμος ἐγένετο Πέρσαις λαμβάνειν τὰς ἑαυτῶν μητέρας καὶ ἀδελφάς. ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐγένετο καὶ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, ὃς εἶπε τοῖς Πέρσαις, ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ — τοῦτο γὰρ ηὔχετο — λάβετε ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ φύλασσετε εἰς σύστασιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν. ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἱστορίαις αἷς ἐχρήσατο κατὰ Ἰουλιανοῦ ὁ θεολόγος μέγας Γρηγόριος καὶ τάδε φησί· τὴν ἀστρονομίαν λέγονται πρῶτον εὑρηκέναι Βαβυλώνιοι διὰ Ζωροάστρου, δεύτερον δὲ ἐδέξαντο οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι· τὴν δὲ μαγείαν εὗρον Μῆδοι, εἶτα Πέρσαι. διαφέρει δὲ μαγεία γοητείας, καὶ ἡ μὲν μαγεία ἐπίκλησίς ἐστιν, ὥς φασι, δαιμόνων ἀγαθοποιῶν πρὸς ἀγαθοῦ τινος σύστασιν. γοητεία δέ ἐστι δαιμόνων κακοποιῶν περὶ τοὺς τάφους εἰλουμένων ἐπὶ κακοῦ τινος σύστασις. γοητεία δὲ ἤκουσεν ἀπὸ τῶν γοῶν καὶ θρήνων τῶν ἐν τοῖς τάφοις γινομένων· μαγεία δὲ ἀπὸ Μαγουσαίων, ἤτοι Περσῶν, ὅθεν ἔσχε καὶ τὴν ἀρχήν. Μαγὼς ἐγχωρίως οἱ Πέρσαι λέγονται.*

§ 48. Anon.

Theologoumena Arithmetika, p. 42 f., ed. Ast (Lips. 1817): *ἢ μᾶλλον, ὃ καὶ Πυθαγορικώτερον, ἐπειδὴ καὶ Βαβυλωνίων οἱ δοκιμώτατοι καὶ Ὀστάνης καὶ Ζωροάστρης ἀγέλας κυρίως καλοῦσι τὰς ἀστρικὰς σφαίρας, ἤτοι παρ' ὅσον τελείως ἄγονται περὶ τὸ κέντρον μόναι παρὰ τὰ σωματικὰ μεγέθη· ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ σύνδεσμοί πως καὶ συναγωγαὶ χρηματίζειν δογματίζεσθαι παρ' αὐτῶν τῶν φυσικῶν λόγων, ἃς ἀγέλους κατὰ τὰ αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις, κατὰ παρέμπτωσιν δὲ τοῦ γάμμα ἐφθαρμένως ἀγγέλους· διὸ καὶ τοὺς καθ' ἑκάστην τούτων τῶν ἀγγέλων ἐξάρχοντας ἀστέρας καὶ δαίμονας ὁμοίως ἀγγέλους καὶ ἀρχαγγέλους προσαγορεύεσθαι, οἵπερ εἰσὶν ἑπτὰ τὸν ἀριθμὸν, ὥστε ἀγγελία κατὰ τοῦτο ἐτυμότατα ἡ ἑβδομάς.*

§ 49. Petrus Comestor

(Died 1178)

Hist. Schol. Lib. Genesis XXXIX. (col. 1090, ed. Migne): Ninus uicit Cham, qui adhuc uiuebat, et regnabat in Bractia (*sic, al.*

Thracia), et dicebatur Zoroastres inuentor magicae artis, qui et septem liberales artes in quattuordecim columnis scripsit, septem aeneis, et septem lateritiis, contra utrumque iudicium [*al.* diluuium]. Ninus uero libros eius combussit. ab eisdem orta sunt idola sic.

§ 50. Abdiae Apostolica Historia

(Quotation of a Name Zaroës[1])

Abdiae Apostolica Historia, Lib. VI. 7. Passio SS. Simonis et Iudae: Atque haec de Iacobo. cuius fratres maiores natu, Simon cognominatus Chananaeus et Iudas, qui et Thaddaeus et Zelotes, et ipsi apostoli Domini nostri Iesu Christi, cum per reuelationem Spiritus Sancti per fidem fuissent religionem ingressi, inuenerunt statim inter initia suae praedicationis duos ibi magos, Zaroen et Arfaxat, qui a facie Sancti Matthaei Apostoli de Aethiopia fugerunt. erat autem doctrina eorum praua, ita ut Deum Abraham et Deum Isaac et Deum Iacob blasphemantes, Deum dicerent tenebrarum, et Moysen dicerent maleficum fuisse, denique omnes prophetas Dei a deo tenebrarum missos adsererent. praeterea animam hominis partem Dei habere dicerent, corporis vero figmentum a Deo malo factum esse, et ideo ex contrariis substantiis constare, in quibus laetatur caro, anima contristatur, et in quibus exultat anima, corpus affligitur. solem et lunam deorum numero applicantes, aquam simul deitatem habere docebant. Dei autem Filium, Dominum nostrum Iesum Christum, phantasiam fuisse, nec uerum hominem, nec ex uera uirgine natum, nec uere tentatum, nec uere passum, nec uere sepultum, nec uere tertia die resurrexisse a mortuis adfirmabant. hac praedicatione polluta Persida post Zaroen et Arfaxat, magnum meruit inuenire doctorem, per beatos apostolos Simonem et Iudam, id est Dominum Iesum Christum.

Ibid. 13: Haec et alia cum dux apud regem Xerxen disseruisset, excitati in zelum, qui cum rege fuerant Zaroes et Arfaxat magi, simul indignabundi rumores sparserunt: malignos eos homines esse, qui contra deos gentis contraque regnum tam astute molirentur. nam si uis scire rex — inquiunt — quod ea uera sunt quae dicimus, non prius permittemus hos loqui quam deos tuos adorauerint. tum

[1] This is cited because Zaroes (Ζαρόης) has been identified with Zoroaster by Nöldeke in p. 76 of *Ergänzungsheft zu Lipsius Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, Braunschweig, 1883–1890. But Gutschmid, *Rhein. Mus.* xix. 380 seq. identifies Zaroes with Zarvan.

dux: audetisne cum illis habere conflictum, ut si uiceritis eos, tum demum abiciantur? dixerunt magi: aequum est ut sicut nos adoramus deos nostros, ita adorent et illi. respondit dux: hoc scilicet conflictus uester ostendet. ad haec iterum magi: uis uidere — inquiunt — potentiam nostram ut probes quia non poterunt loqui nobis praesentibus: iube adstare hic qui sint eloquentes in linguis, acutissimi in argumentis, et clamosi in uocibus. et si tunc ausi fuerint nobis praesentibus loqui, probabis nos esse imperitissimos. tunc iussu regis et ducis omnes aduocati praesto facti, ita sunt a duce admoniti ut quanta possent constantia haberent cum his magis contentiones et eos a defensionum proposito, argumentorum suorum proposito excluderent. et cum in praesentia regis et ducis cunctorumque sublimium magi locuti essent, omnis illa aduocatio ita muta facta est, ut nec nutibus quod loqui non poterat indicaret. et cum unius fere horae transisset spatium, dixere magi ad regem: ut scias nos ex deorum esse numero, permittimus eos quidem loqui, sed ambulare non posse. quod cum fecissent, adiecerunt dicentes: ecce reddimus eis gressum, sed faciemus eos apertis oculis nihil uidere. cumque et hoc fecissent, expauit cor regis et ducis, dicentibus amicis eorum, non debere contemni hos magos, ne et regi et duci inferant debilitatem in membris. igitur hoc spectaculum a primo mane usque ad horam sextam dum spectatur, aduocati maerore confecti, ad suas reuersi sunt quique domos, nimio animi impulsu fatigati.

Ibid. 17: Haec cum dixissent apostoli, deportati sunt ad hospitalia magi, qui per triduum nec cibum capere nec bibere ullo modo poterant, sed in his sola uociferatio doloribus extorta incessabilis extitit. postea cum iam res in eo esset ut pariter expirarent magi Zaroes et Arfaxat, accesserunt eos apostoli dicentes: non dignatur Deus habere coacta seruitia. igitur surgite sani habentes liberam facultatem conuertandi a malo ad bonum et exeundi a tenebris ad lumen. at illi permanentes in perfidia sua, sicut a facie Matthaei apostoli fugerunt, sic et ab his duobus apostolis fugientes, ad simulacrorum cultores, per totam Persidis regionem, ut apostolis inimicitias excitarent, ubique dicebant: ecce ueniunt ad uos inimici deorum nostrorum, etc.

Ibid. 20: Quippe Zaroes et Arfaxat magi facientes scelera multa per ciuitates Persidis, et dicentes se esse ex genere deorum, semper a facie apostolorum fugientes, tamdiu erant in quacunque ciuitate, quamdiu cognoscerent apostolos aduenire.

Ibid. 23: Quo tempore et duo, de quibus diximus, magi Zaroes et Arfaxat ictu coruscationis adusti ad carbonem conuersi sunt.[1]

Lib. VII. 1 de S. Matthaeo: In quam [*sc.* Aethiopiam] profectus ipse, cum in ciuitate magna quae dicitur Naddauer moraretur, in qua rex Aeglippus sedebat, contigit ut duo magi Zaroes et Arfaxat simul essent, qui regem miris modis ludificabant, ut se deos esse remota ambiguitate crederet. et credebat eis rex omnia et omnis populus non solum memoratae urbis sed ex longinquis etiam regionibus Aethiopiae ueniebant quotidie ut adorarent eos. faciebant enim subito hominum gressus figi, et tamdiu immobiles stare quamdiu ipsi uoluissent. similiter et uisus hominum et auditus a suo officio refrenabant. imperitabant serpentibus ut percuterent, quod et Marsi facere solent et ipsi incantando multos curabant. et ut dici uulgo solet, malignis maior reuerentia exhibetur ex timore quam benignis ex amore, sic et illi uenerabiles apud Aethiopes, in magno diu pretio fuerunt.

Ibid. 4: Conabantur autem interea arte sua magica excitare eos [*sc.* suos duos dracones ante pedes Matthaei apostoli dormientes] Zaroes et Arphaxat, et non poterant neque oculos aperire neque penitus commouere quidquam.

§ 51. The So-called Zoroastrian Logia or Chaldæan Oracles

ΜΑΓΙΚΑ ΛΟΓΙΑ
ΤΩΝ ΑΠΟ ΤΟΥ ΖΩΡΟΑΣΤΡΟΥ ΜΑΓΩΝ

Introductory Note by Louis H. Gray. — Amid the luxuriant growth of apocryphal and prophetic literature, which sprang up in the first centuries of our era, no small part is ascribed to the faith of Iran. The wonderful eschatology of the Persian religion made a deep impression on the Hellenic mind at an early date, and this was to bring forth fruit in the development of Gnosticism and Neo-Platonism. Apparently in this way arose the so-called Chaldæan Oracles, which bear the mark of Gnostic and Neo-Platonic mysticism and somewhat recall the Christian forgery of the Sibylline Oracles.

The pseudo-Zoroastrian compositions had but a short shrift. The great Porphyry ruthlessly attacked them and suppressed them, and they are lost to us forever. Doubtless they were no better and no worse than the great majority of similar writings which have survived; perhaps we may even say that the

[1] Is this a reminiscence of the legend of Zoroaster's death by lightning, p. 124 seq.?

Oneirokritikon of Astrampsuchos, a Christian forgery of about the fifth century, affords a type of some of these lost books.

But in the writings of the Neo-Platonic philosophers there lay hid a mass of citations, termed 'Chaldæan Logia,' or more usually, simply 'Logia,' or again, introduced by the formula: 'As saith one of the Gods,' or even appearing without any introductory phrase whatsoever.[1] These Logia date in general about the end of the second century A.D., and they present to us a heterogeneous mass, now obscure and again bombastic, of commingled Platonic, Pythagorean, Stoic, Gnostic, and Persian tenets.[2] I am inclined to doubt that the entire mass comes from a single source, although some have suggested that a certain Julian the Chaldæan or his son, who lived in the period of the Antonines, may perhaps have been the author.[3] However trivial the Logia justly appear to us, they received the serious attention of Iamblichos, Proklos, Simplikios, Damaskios, and Iohannes Ludos, while Hierokles and later Plethon wrote 'compends of the Zoroastrian and Platonic Systems.'[4]

In the fifteenth century Georgios Gemistos Plethon, led on, as I venture to suggest, by some such allusion to Ζωροάστρου λόγια as the reference contained in the citation from Xanthos, preserved by Nikolaos of Damascus, boldly foisted upon Zoroaster the Logia which had been hitherto only 'Chaldæan.' This we may term the first recension. It consists of sixty lines and was first published by Ludovicus Tiletanus, together with Plethon's commentary, at Paris in 1563.[5] This text was also commented upon by Psellos as early as the eleventh century. Possibly we may even regard Psellos as the compiler who gathered the scattered fragments which go to make up this collection.

The second recension, if we may employ so dignified a term, was made by Franciscus Patricius in 1591. A second edition of this appeared at Venice in 1593. This second edition forms the basis of Stanley in his *History of Philosophy*, 4 ed., London, 1743, Latin translation, Leipzig, 1711, and it was the only one accessible to me except Stanley. On this new collection of Patricius the present edition is based. The object of my work here has been to secure as good a text as possible. My chief aid, or rather my only aid, has been the masterly discussion by Kroll, "De Oraculis Chaldaicis," in the seventh volume

[1] See Kroll, *de Oraculis Chaldaicis*, pp. 6–9, Breslau, 1894.

[2] Kroll, pp. 66–72.

[3] Ibid. 71.

[4] Ibid. passim; *Kleuker Anhang zum Zend-Avesta*, ii. Theil 1, pp. 8–9, 16–18. Plethon's *Compend.* is edited by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 160. 973–974.

[5] This has unfortunately been inaccessible to me. I have used instead the edition by Servatius Gallæus in his Σιβυλλιακοὶ Χρησμοί, Amstelod. 1689, and by Migne in his *Patrol. Græc.* tom. 122. 1115–1154, including also Psellos's comment. In addition to the books already cited, I should mention the valuable compendium of the tenets of the Oracles contained in the seventeenth letter of Michael Italikos (for this identification see Treu, *Byzant. Zeitschrift*, iv. 1–22) edited by Cramer in *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, iii. 180–183 (Oxford, 1836), and for the entire subject the valuable discussion in Harles's edition of Fabricius's *Bibliotheca Græca*, I. 307–315 (Hamb. 1790).

of the *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (Breslau, 1894). That his readings are given in the notes does not signify a rejection of them. They would generally appear in the text if I did not desire to preserve Patricius's text except where the latter is absolutely unintelligible. The motive for preserving this has been purely historical. The Breslau professor has practically collected the Logia anew, and he has learnedly discussed their sources and philosophical import. To him, moreover, the references to the Neo-Platonic authors cited in my footnotes are mainly due. Mine has been the humbler task to reprint an obsolescent collection, with only those emendations which are absolutely necessary. I have made a translation of the Oracles or Logia, which I hope later to publish with a version of the other Greek and Latin citations found in this Appendix.

The Oracles have never had many friends, and as a comment on them I may note that good old Thomas Hyde prayed that these 'pseudoracula pessime conficta carmine Graeco' might perish like others of their stamp (cf. *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.*, Pref. p. vi.). His prayer has been in great part fulfilled. In estimating, moreover, the general value of the Logia, we may say, in the words of Shakspere, that the good points in them, like Gratiano's reasons, 'are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff.'

ΜΟΝΑΣ, ΔΥΑΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΡΙΑΣ

Ψέλ. ὅπου πατρικὴ μονάς ἐστι.[1]

Δαμ. ταναή ἐστι μονὰς καὶ δύο γεννᾷ.[2]

Πρόκ. Δαμ. δυὰς γὰρ παρὰ τῷδε κάθηται, καὶ νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς,[3]
καὶ τὸ κυβερνᾶν τὰ πάντα, καὶ τάττειν ἕκαστον οὐ ταχθέν.

Δαμ. παντὶ γὰρ ἐν κόσμῳ λάμπει τριὰς ἧς μονὰς ἄρχει.[4]
ἀρχὴ πάσης τμήσεως ἥδε ἡ τάξις.[5]

Πρόκ. εἰς τρία γὰρ νοῦς εἶπε πατρὸς τέμνεσθαι ἅπαντα,
οὗ τὸ θέλειν κατένευσε, καὶ ἥδη πάντ' ἐτέτμητο.[6]
εἰς τρία γὰρ εἶπε νοῦς πατρὸς ἀιδίου[7]
νῷ πάντα κυβερνῶν.

Δαμ. καὶ ἐφάνησαν ἐν αὐτῇ ἥ τ' ἀρετὴ καὶ ἡ σοφία,
καὶ ἡ πολύφρων ἀτρέκεια.[8]
τῇ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμας πρὸ τῆς οὔσης,
οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὗ τὰ μετρεῖται.[9]

[1] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); in Alcib. 356. 20.

[2] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 2 (p. 98, ed. Friedlein); Dam. ii. 29. 16, ubi ἡ legitur et apud Patric.

[3] Om. γὰρ, Kroll. Proc. in Crat. 56. 6; in Remp. 376. 34; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc.

[4] Dam. i. 87. 3; ii. 87. 14.

[5] Dam. ii. 58. 20.

[6] Proc. in Parm. 1091. 6; Dam. i. 253. 25; ii. 60. 28; 62. 28.

[7] Proc. in Timæ. 313 F. νοῦς εἶπε, Kroll.

[8] Dam. ii. 45. 10. τε pro τ', Kroll.

[9] ἐξ ἀμφοῖν δὴ τῶνδε ῥέει τριάδος δέμα
πρώτης | οὔσης οὐ πρώτης, ἀλλ' οὐ τὰ νοητὰ μετρεῖται, Dam. ii. 63. 21; Kroll.

ἀρχαῖς γὰρ τρισὶ ταῖσδε λάβοις δουλεύειν ἅπαντα.[1]
ἱερὸς πρῶτος δρόμος, ἐν δ' ἄρα μέσσῳ
ἠέριος, τρίτος ἄλλος, ὃς ἐν πυρὶ τὴν χθόνα θάλπει,[2]
καὶ πηγὴ πηγῶν, καὶ πηγῶν ἁπασῶν.
μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα.[3]
ἔνθεν ἄρδην θρῴσκει γένεσις πολυποικίλου ὕλης.
Πρόκ. ἔνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῖο[4] πυρὸς ἄνθος,
κόσμων ἐνθρῴσκων κοιλώμασι. πάντα γὰρ ἔνθεν
ἄρχεται εἰς τὸ κάτω τείνειν ἀκτῖνας ἀγητάς.[5]

ΠΑΤΗΡ ΚΑΙ ΝΟΥΣ

Ψέλ. ἑαυτὸν ὁ πατὴρ ἤρπασεν οὐδ' ἐν ἑῇ
δυνάμει νοερᾷ κλείσας ἴδιον πῦρ.[6]
Ψέλ. οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ πατρικῆς ἀρχῆς ἀτελές τι τροχάζει.[7]
πάντα γὰρ ἐξετέλεσσε πατὴρ
καὶ νῷ παρέδωκε δευτέρῳ,
ὅν πρῶτον κληίζεται πᾶν γένος[8] ἀνδρῶν.[9]
Πρόκ. πατρογενὲς φάος πολὺ γὰρ μόνος
ἐκ πατρὸς ἀλκῆς δρεψάμενος νόου ἄνθος.[10]
ἔργα νοήσας γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος αὐτογένεθλος,
πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρεν δεσμὸν πυριβριθῆ ἔρωτος,
ὄφρα τὰ πάντα μένῃ, χρόνον εἰς ἀπέραντον ἐρῶντα
μήτε πέσῃ τὰ πατρὸς νοερῷ ὑφασμένα φέγγει·[11]
ὡς ἐν ἔρωτι μένῃ κόσμου στοιχεῖα μένοντα.[12]
ἔχει τῷ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ἐνδιδόναι
πασαῖς πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς.
ἔστι γὰρ πέρας τοῦ πατρικοῦ βυθοῦ καὶ πηγῆ τῶν νοερῶν.
μήδε προῆλθεν, ἀλλ' ἔμενεν ἐν τῷ πατρικῷ βυθῷ,[13]

[1] Dam. ii. 217. 5. λάβροις pro λάβοις, Kroll.

[2] Dam. ii. 217. 5. ἐν τούτοις, praeponit Kroll.

[3] Dam. i. 242. 18; 274. 7; ii. 67. 1, etc. πηγὴ τῶν πηγῶν, μήτρα συνέχουσα τὰ πάντα, Kroll.

[4] ἀμυδροῖ pro ἀμυδροῖο, Kroll.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 118 C (v. 1); theol. Plat. 172. 6 (v. 2, 3 a); 171. 9 (v. 3 b, 4). ἀποθρῴσκει pro ἄρδην θρῴσκει, Kroll cum coniectura ἄδην.

[6] Psell. 58–59. ὁ πατὴρ ἑαυτὸν ἥρπα, σεν, comment.

[7] Psell. 9. ἀπαί, Kroll.

[8] Alii ἔθνεα pro πᾶν γένος, Psell. 53–54. κληίζετε, Kroll.

[9] Psell. 53–54.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D.

[11] μηδὲ pro μήτε, Kroll. πᾶσι, νοερῶς, Patric.

[12] ᾧ σὺν ἔρωτι μένει κόσμου στοχεῖα θέοντα, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 155 E–F.

[13] Proc. in Timæ. 167 C.

καὶ ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ κατὰ τὴν θεοθρέμμονα σιγήν.
οὐ γὰρ εἰς ὕλην πῦρ ἐπέκεινα τὸ πρῶτον
ἓὴν δύναμιν κατακλείει ἔργοις, ἀλλὰ νόῳ.[1]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρεν κατὰ κόσμον
ὅς τὰ νοητὰ νοεῖ καὶ ἄφραστα κάλλη νοεῖται.[2]

Δαμ. ὁλοφυὴς μερισμὸς καὶ ἀμέριστος.
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, αἴσθησιν δὲ ἐπάγει κόσμοις.[3]
νῷ μὲν κατέχει τὰ νοητά, ψυχὴν δ' ἐπάγει κόσμοις.

ΝΟΥΣ, ΝΟΗΤΑ, ΚΑΙ ΝΟΕΡΑ

Δαμ. καὶ τοῦ ἑνὸς νοῦ τοῦ νοητοῦ.

Πρόκ. οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ· οὐ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τὰ μέν ἐστι νοερὰ καὶ νοητά, ὅσα νοοῦντα νοεῖται.[5]
τροφὴ δὲ τῷ νοοῦντι τὸ νοητόν.[6]
μάνθανε τὸ νοητόν, ἐπεὶ νόου ἔξω ὑπάρχει.[7]
καὶ τοῦ νοῦ, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.
νοῦ γὰρ νοῦς ἐστιν ὁ κόσμου τεχνίτης πυρίου.[8]
οἳ τὸν ὑπέρκοσμον πατρικὸν βυθὸν ἵστε νοοῦντες.[9]
ἡ νοητὴ πάσης τιμήσεως ἄγει.
ἔστι δὲ δή τι νοητόν, ὃ χρή σε νοεῖν νόου ἄνθει.[10]

Δαμ. ἦν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς, ὡς ἂν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσῃς,[11]
ὥς τι νοῶν, οὐ κεῖνο νοήσεις.
ἔστι γὰρ ὀλκῆς ἀμφιφαοῦς δύναμις,
νοεραῖς στράπτουσα τομαῖσιν, οὐ δὴ χρὴ
σφοδρότητι νοεῖν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο,
ἀλλὰ νόου ταναοῦ ταναῇ φλογὶ[12]
πάντα μετρούσῃ, πλὴν τὸ νοητὸν ἐκεῖνο.
χρεὼ δὴ τοῦτο νοῆσαι· ἦν γὰρ ἐπεγκλίνῃς
σὸν νοῦν, κἀκεῖνο νοήσεις οὐκ ἀτενῶς,

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10. *ἐς* pro *εἰς*, Kroll.

[2] Proc. in Crat. 23. 23. Sic Kroll. Stanl. Lond.,[4] *καλλήϊται*, sec. Patric. pro *καλληεῖται*; Lips., *καλλωπίζει*.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 68 F, 164 C; in Crat. 56. 5; Dam. ii. 177. 20, etc. *κατέχειν* et *ἐπάγειν*, Kroll. δ' pro δὲ, Patric. [4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D.

[5] Proc. in theol. Plat. 179. 7. *νοητὰ καὶ νοερά*, Kroll.

[6] Cf. Proc. in Timæ. 6 D.

[7] Psell. 50. *μάθε . . . ἔξω νόου*, comment.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 157 A; theol. Plat. 333. 29; Dam. ii. 136. 10.

[9] Dam. ii. 16. 6; Proc. in Crat. 62. 9. Stan. *ἔστε*.

[10] Psell. 51. δὲ δή, omis. comment. γάρ pro δὲ δή, Kroll. ἄρχει pro ἄγει, Patric.

[11] *σὸν* pro *ὡς ἂν*, Kroll; *ἐπεγκλίνῃ* et *νοήσῃ*, Stan. [12] *οὐδὲ* pro *ἀλλὰ*, Kroll.

ἀλλ᾽ ἁγνὸν ἐπίστροφον ὄμμα,[1]
φέροντα σῆς ψυχῆς τεῖναι κενεὸν νόον
εἰς τὸ νοητόν, ὅφρα μάθῃς τὸ νοητόν,[2]
ἐπεὶ ἔξω νόου ὑπάρχει.[3]
τὸν δὲ νοεῖ πᾶς νοῦς θεὸν, οὐ γὰρ ἄνευ
νόος ἐστὶ νοητοῦ, καὶ τὸ νοητὸν οὐ νοῦ χωρὶς ὑπάρχει.[4]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν ἅπαντα
εἴκαθε δουλεύοντα πατρὸς πειθωνίδι βουλῇ.
καὶ τὸ νοεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.
πηγάς τε καὶ ἀρχὰς, δινεῖν, ἀεί τε μένειν ἀόκνῳ στροφάλιγγι.[5]
ἀλλὰ δι᾽ οὔνομα σεμνὸν ἀκοιμήτῳ στροφάλιγγι
κόσμοις ἐνθρῴσκον, κραιπνὴν διὰ πατρὸς ἐνιπήν.[6]
ὑπὸ δύο νόων ἡ ζωογόνος πηγὴ περιέχεται ψυχῶν.
καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς, ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκτήνετο τὸν κόσμον,[7]
ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος,[8]
ἐσσαμένος πυρὶ πῦρ, συνδέσμων ὄφρα κεράσσῃ[9]
πηγαίους κρατῆρας, ἑοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών.[10]
νοεραῖς ἀστράπτει τομαῖς, ἔρωτος δ᾽ ἐνέπλησε πάντα.[11]
τὰ ἀτύπωτα τυποῦσθαι.[12]
σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι φέρονται, ῥηγνύμεναι
κόσμου περὶ σώμασι.[13]
ἃ νοῦς λέγει, τῷ νοεῖν δήπου λέγει.[14]
ἡ μὲν γὰρ δύναμις σὺν ἐκείνοις, νοῦς δ᾽ ἀπ᾽ ἐκείνου.[15]

ΙΥΝΤΕΣ, ΙΔΕΑΙ, ΑΡΧΑΙ

πολλαὶ μὲν αἵδε ἐπεμβαίνουσι φαεινοῖς κόσμοις,[16]
ἐνθρῴσκουσαι, καὶ ἐν αἷς ἀκρότητες ἔασιν τρεῖς.[17]

[1] ἀπόστροφον pro ἐπίστροφον, Kroll.
[2] ἐς pro εἰς, Kroll.
[3] νόου ἔξω, Kroll. Dam. i. 154. 16.
[4] Proc. in Timæ. 267 D; Dam. ii. 16. 20; 57. 26.
[5] Proc. in Timæ. 242 D. ἔχει τὸ νοεῖν πατρικὸν νοῦν ⟨καὶ νόον⟩ ἐνδιδόναι πάσαις πηγαῖς τε καὶ ἀρχαῖς καὶ δινεῖν αἰεί τε κ.τ.λ., sic recte Kroll.
[6] ἀλλ᾽ ὄνομα σεμνὸν καὶ ἀκοιμήτῳ, Kroll. ἐνθρώσκων, Patric. Proc. in Crat. 23. 20.
[7] Leg. ὡς pro ὃς.
[8] δεσμῷ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ ὃς ἐκ κ.τ.λ., Kroll.
[9] πέρι πῦρ συνδέσμιον, Kroll.
[10] Proc. in Parm. 769. 7.
[11] Proc. in Timæ. 219 B. τὰ πάντα, Patric.
[12] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).
[13] Proc. in Timæ. 267 F.
[14] Psell. 1145 B.
[15] ἐκείνῳ pro ἐκείνοις, Kroll. Proc. in theol. Platon. 365. 1; in Alcib. prim. 392. 7.
[16] μὲν δὴ αἵδε, Kroll.
[17] καὶ om. Kroll. Dam. ii. 88. 3.

ὑπόκειται αὐταῖς ἄρχιος αὐλών.[1]
ἀρχὰς, αἱ πατρὸς ἔργα νοήσασαι νοητά,[2]
αἰσθητοῖς ἔργοις, καὶ σώμασιν ἀπεκάλυψαν,[3]
διαπόρθμιοι ἑστῶτες φάναι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ τῇ ὕλῃ,
καὶ τὰ ἐμφανῆ μιμήματα τῶν ἀφανῶν ἐργαζόμεναι.
καί τ' ἀφανῆ εἰς τὴν ἐμφανῆ κοσμοποιίαν ἐγγράφοντες.
νοῦς πατρὸς ἐρροίζησε, νοήσας ἀκμάδι βουλῇ
παμμόρφους ἰδέας. πηγῆς δ' ἀπὸ μιᾶς ἀποπτᾶσαι
ἐξέθορον. πατρόθεν γὰρ ἔην βουλή τε τέλος τε.[4]
δι' ὧν συνάπτεται τῷ πατρί, ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην
ζωήν, ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.[5]
ἀλλ' ἐμερίσθησαν, νοερῷ πυρὶ μοιρηθεῖσαι,
εἰς ἄλλας νοεράς· κόσμῳ γὰρ ἄναξ πολυμόρφῳ
προὔθηκεν νοερὸν τύπον ἄφθιτον, οὐ κατὰ κόσμον[6]
ἵκνος ἐπειγόμενος μορφῆς καθ' ἃ κόσμος ἐφάνθη.[7]
παντοίαις ἰδέαις κεχαρισμένος, ὧν μία πηγή,[8]
ἐξ ἧς ῥοιζοῦνται μεμερισμέναι ἄλλαι,
ἄπλατοι, ῥηγνύμεναι κόσμου περὶ σώμασιν,
αἱ περὶ κόλπους σμερδαλέους, σμήνεσσιν ἐοικυῖαι,
φορέονται τραποῦσαι· περὶ δ' ἀμφὶ ἄλλυδις ἄλλη,[9]
ἔννοιαι νοεραὶ πηγῆς πατρικῆς ἄπο
πολὺ δραττόμεναι πυρὸς ἄνθος[10]
ἀκοιμήτου χρόνου. ἀκμὴ ἀρχεγόνου ἰδέας[11]
πρώτη πατρὸς ἔβλυσε τάσδ' αὐτοθαλὴς πηγή.
νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί,
βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.[12]

[1] Dam. ii. 88. 7. *ὑποκέκλιται*, Kroll. Alii *ἀύλων* (cf. Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 145, p. 623, ed. Diels).

[2] *τὰ νοητά*, Kroll. [Kroll.

[3] Dam. ii. 200. 23. *ἀμφεκάλυψαν*,

[4] *δὲ μιᾶς*, Kroll; *μιᾶς ἅπο πᾶσαι*, coniecit Schneck apud Kroll. Proc. in Parm. 800. 11.

[5] Om. has lineas duas Kroll.

[6] *οὐ κατ' ἄκοσμον* pro *οὐ κατὰ κόσμον*, Kroll.

[7] *μέτα* pro *καθ' ἃ*, Kroll.

[8] *κεχαρ:μένος* pro *κεχαρισμένος*, Kroll.

[9] *στράπτουσαι* pro *τραποῦσαι*, Kroll sec. Thilo. *περί τ' ἀμφὶ παρασχεδὸν ἄλλυδις*, Kroll.

[10] *πουλύ | δρεπτόμεναι*, Kroll sec. Thilo.

[11] *ἀκμῇ | ἀρχεγόνους*, Kroll.

[12] Psell. 55–56, in comment. *αἱ ἴυγγες νοούμεναι πατρόθεν. ἀφθέγτοις*, Kroll. *βουλῶν ἀφθέγτων*, comment. per has *ἴυγγας* (cf. Kroll, p. 41) a Laevio frag. 10 ed. Müller, Lips. 1892 inter 'omnia philtra' laudatas, conatur Pater animam humanam reducere. haud aliter apud Theocritum Idyl. ii. incantat pharmaceutria:

ἴυγξ, ἔλκε τὺ τῆνον ἐμὸν ποτὶ δῶμα τὸν ἄνδρον.

ΕΚΑΤΗ, ΣΥΝΟΧΕΙΣ, ΚΑΙ ΤΕΛΕΤΑΡΧΑΙ

ἐξ αὐτοῦ γὰρ πάντες ἐκθρῴσκουσι.[1]
ἀμείλικτοί τε κεραυνοὶ καὶ πρηστηροδόχοι κόλποι
παμφεγγέος ἀλκῆς πατρογενοῦς Ἑκάτης,[2]
καὶ ὑπεζωκὸς πυρὸς ἄνθος ἠδὲ κραταιὸν
πνεῦμα πόλων, πυρίων ἐπέκεινα.[3]
φρουρεῖν αὖ πρηστῆρσιν ἑοῖς ἀκρότητας ἔδωκεν,
ἐγκεράσας ἀλκῆς ἴδιον μένος ἐν συνοχεῦσιν.[4]
ὦ πῶς ἔχει κόσμος νοεροὺς ἀνοχῆας ἀκαμπεῖς.[5]
ὅτι ἐργάτις, ὅτι ἐκδότις ἐστὶ πυρὸς ζωηφόρου,
ὅτι καὶ τὸ ζῳογόνον πληροῖ τῆς Ἑκάτης κόλπον,
καὶ ἐπιρρεῖ τοῖς συνοχεῦσιν ἀλκὴν ζείδωρον πυρὸς
μέγα δυναμένοιο.[6]
ἀλλὰ καὶ φρουροὶ τῶν ἔργων εἰσὶ τοῦ πατρός.[7]
ἀφομοιοῖ γὰρ καὶ ἑαυτόν, ἐκεῖνος ἐπειγόμενος
τὸν τύπον περιβάλλεσθαι τῶν εἰδώλων.[8]
οἱ μὲν τελετάρχαι συνείληπται τοῖς συνοχεῦσι.[9]
τοῖς δὲ πυρὸς νοεροῦ νοεροῖς πρηστῆρσιν
ἅπαντα εἵκαθε δουλεύοντα.[10]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑλαίοις ὅσα δουλεύει συνοχεῦσιν.[11]
ἐσσαμένου πάντευχον ἀλκὴν φωτὸς κελάδοντος[12]
ἀλκῇ τριγλίχῳ νόον ψυχήν θ' ὁπλίσαντα[13]
παντοίαδος σύνθημα βάλλειν φρενί,[14]
μηδ' ἐπιφοιτᾶν ἐμπυρίοις σποράδην ὀχετοῖς,
ἀλλὰ στιβαρηδόν.
οἱ δὲ τὰ ἄτομα καὶ αἰσθητὰ δημιουργοῦσι,
καὶ σωματοειδῆ καὶ κατατεταγμένα εἰς ὕλην.

[1] τοῦδε δὲ ἐκθρῴσκουσιν ἀμείλικτοί τε κ.τ.λ., Kroll.

[2] αὐγῆς pro ἀλκῆς, Kroll. Hecaten, quae a Proclo Hymn. vi. 1 θεῶν μῆτερ appellatur, una cum Rhea a Platonicis confusam esse demonstrat Kroll, pp. 27–31 (cf. p. 69).

[3] Proc. in Crat. 63. 4; 85. 22; Dam. ii. 89. 31; 133. 3.

[4] Dam. ii. 125. 22.

[5] Psell. 57, πᾶς ⟨γὰρ⟩ pro ὦ πῶς, Kroll. ὦ, omis. comment.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 128 B.

[7] Proc. in Theol. Plat. 205.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 103 E–F.

[9] Dam. de princip. 234.

[10] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[11] Dam. ii. 87. 21.

[12] Dam. i. 155. 11. ἐσσάμενον, ἀκμὴν, Kroll.

[13] Dam. i. 254. 1; ii. 62. 29; 95. 23. τριγλώχινι pro τριγλίχῳ, Kroll.

[14] πᾶν τριάδος pro παντοίαδος, Kroll.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΦΥΣΙΣ

ὅττι ψυχὴ πῦρ δυνάμει πατρὸς οὖσα φαινόν,[1]
ἀθάνατός τε μένει καὶ ζωῆς δεσπότις ἐστὶν
καὶ ἴσχει κόσμου πολλὰ πληρώματα κόλπων.[2]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει, τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.[3]
μιγνυμένων δ' ὀχετῶν, πυρὸς ἀφθίτου ἔργα τελοῦσα.[4]
μετὰ δὴ πατρικὰς διανοίας ψυχή, ἐγώ, ναίω·
θερμή, ψυχοῦσα τὰ πάντα.[5] κατέθετο γὰρ
νοῦν μὲν ἐνὶ ψυχῇ, ψυχὴν δ' ἐνὶ σώματι ἀργῷ
ἡμέων ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.[6]
ἄρδην ἐμψυχοῦσα φάος, πῦρ, αἰθέρα, κόσμους.[7]
συνυφίσταται γὰρ τὰ φυσικὰ ἔργα τῷ νοερῷ φέγγει
τοῦ πατρός.[8] ψυχὴ γὰρ ἡ κοσμήσασα τὸν μέγαν
οὐρανὸν καὶ κοσμοῦσα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός.
κέρατα δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐστήρικται ἄνω.[9]
νώτοις δ' ἀμφὶ θεᾶς φύσις ἄπλετος ᾠώρηται.[10]
ἄρχει δ' αὖ φύσις ἀκαμάτη κόσμων τε καὶ ἔργων,
οὐρανὸς ὄφρα θέῃ δρόμον ἀίδιον κατασύρων·
καὶ ταχὺς ἠέλιος περὶ κέντρον, ὅπως ἐθὰς ἔλθῃ.[11]
μὴ φύσεως ἐμβλέψῃς εἱμαρμένον οὔνομα τῆσδε.[12]

ΚΟΣΜΟΣ

ὁ ποιητὴς ὃς αὐτουργῶν τεκταίνεσθαι τὸν κόσμον.[13]
καὶ γάρ τις πυρὸς ὄγκος ἔην ἕτερος· τὰ δὲ πάντα[14]
αὐτουργῶν, ἵνα σῶμα τὸ κοσμικὸν ἐκτολυπευθῇ,
κόσμος ἵν' ἔκδηλος, καὶ μὴ φαίνηθ' ὑμενώδης.
τὸν ὅλον κόσμον ἐκ πυρὸς καὶ ὕδατος καὶ γῆς[15]
καὶ παντοτρόφου αἴθρης.[16]

[1] Psell. 22–24. *ὅτι ψυχὴ πῦρ οὖσα φαεινὸν δυνάμει πατρός*, comment.

[2] *ἔχει* pro *ἴσχει*, comment.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 87 E. *νοῦ μὲν γὰρ*, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Remp. 399. 33.

[5] Proc. in Timæ. 124 D. *θερμῇ*, Kroll.

[6] *δήσας* pro *ἡμέων*, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 124 D.

[7] Simplic. 143 (p. 613, ed. Diels).

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 106 A, C.

[9] Alii legunt *κράτη*.

[10] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D; in Parm. 821. 5; in Remp. 22. 17.

[11] Proc. in Timæ. 4 D, cf. 323 B; Dam. ii. 157. 15. *γὰρ* pro *δ' αὖ*, Kroll.

[12] Proc. theol. Plat. 317. 29; de prov. 155. 26; 164. 7; in Timæ. 322 D.

[13] leg. *ὡς* pro *ὃς τεκτήνατο*, Stan.

[14] *τάδε* pro *τὰ δὲ*, Kroll. om. *γὰρ*, Patric.

[15] *ἐξ ὕδατος*, Kroll.

[16] Proc. in Timæ. 154 E.

τ' ἄρρητα καὶ τὰ ῥητὰ συνθήματα τοῦ κόσμου.
ἄλλην κατ' ἄλλην ζωὴν ἀπὸ μεριζομένων ὀχετῶν.
ἄνωθεν διήκοντος ἐπὶ τὸ κατ' ἄντικρυ
διὰ τοῦ κέντρου τῆς γῆς καὶ πέμπτον μέσον, ἄλλον
πυρήοχον, ἔνθα κάτεισι μέχρι ὑλαίων ὀχετῶν,
ζωηφόριον πῦρ.[1]
κέντρῳ ἐπισπέρχων σαυτὸν φωτὸς κελάδοντος.[2]
πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.[3]
κέντρον ἀφ' οὗ πᾶσαι μέχρις ἄντυγος ἴσαι ἔασιν.[4]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἔσπειρε κατὰ κόσμον.
μέσον τῶν πατέρων ἑκάστης κέντρον φορεῖται.[5]
νοῦ γὰρ μίμημα πέλει· τὸ δὲ τεχθὲν ἔχει τι σώματος.

ΟΥΡΑΝΟΣ

ἑπτὰ γὰρ ἐξώγκωσε πατὴρ στερεώματα κόσμων.[6]
τὸν οὐρανὸν κυρτῷ σχήματι περικλείσας,
πῆξε δὲ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[7]
ζώων δὲ πλανομένων ὑφέστηκεν ἑπτάδα.[8]
γῆν δ' ἐν μέσῳ τιθεὶς, ὕδωρ δ' ἐν γαίας κόλποις,
ἠέρα δ' ἄνωθεν τούτων.
πῆξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν,[9]
μὴ τάσι ἐπιπόνῳ πονηρᾷ.
πήξει δὲ πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι,
ἔπηξε δὲ καὶ πολὺν ὅμιλον ἀστέρων ἀπλανῶν
τὸ πῦρ πρὸς τὸ πῦρ ἐναγκάσας,
πήξει πλάνην οὐκ ἐχούσῃ φέρεσθαι.
ἐξ αὐτοὺς ὑπέστησεν, ἕβδομον ἠελίου[10]
μεσεμβολήσας πῦρ,
τὸ ἄτακτον αὐτῶν εὐτάκτοις ἀνακρεμάσας ζώναις.
τίκτει γὰρ ἡ θεὰ ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.
αἰθήρ, ἥλιε, πνεῦμα σελήνης, ἠέρος ἀγοί,
ἡλιακῶν τε κύκλων, καὶ μηναίων καναχισμῶν

[1] Proc. in Timæ. 172 C. *ζωήφορον*, Patric.
[2] Proc. in Timæ. 236 D. *ἑαυτὸν*, Stan.
[3] Proc. in Timæ.
[4] Proc. in Euclid. i. def. 15–16 (p. 155, ed. Friedlein). (Patric. *ἂν τυχόν*.)
[5] Dam. ii. 164. 18. *μέσον*, *Ἑκάτης*, *πεφορῆσθαι*, Kroll.
[6] Simplic. in Arist. Phys. 144 (p. 616, ed. Diels).
[7] *πηγνύναι*, Kroll.
[8] *ζώνων . . . ὑφιστάνειν*, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 97 A.
[9] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B, ubi tamen *χρωμένων* pro *φέρεσθαι* legitur.
[10] Proc. in Timæ. 280 B.

κόλπων τε ἠερίων.
αἴθρης μέλος, ἠελίου τε καὶ μήνης ὀχετῶν, ἥ τε ἠέρος[1]
καὶ πλατὺς ἀήρ, μηναῖός τε δρόμος, καὶ ἀεὶ πόλος ἠελίοιο.[2]
συλλέγει αὐτὸ λαμβάνουσα αἴθρης μέλος,[3]
ἠελίου τε σελήνης τε καὶ ὅσα ἠέρι συνέχονται.
πῦρ πυρὸς ἐξοχέτευμα καὶ πυρὸς ταμίας.[4]
χαῖται γὰρ ἐς ὀξὺ πεφυκότι φωτὶ βλέπονται.[5]
ἔνθα Κρόνος,
ἠέλιος πάρεδρος ἐπισκοπέων πόλον ἀγνόν.[6]
αἰθέριός τε δρόμος καὶ μήνης ἄπλετος ὁρμὴ
ἠέριοί τε ῥοαί.[7]
ἠέλιόν τε μέγαν καὶ λαμπρὰν σελήνην.

ΧΡΟΝΟΣ

θεὸν ἐγκόσμιον, αἰώνιον, ἀπέραντον,
νέον καὶ πρεσβύτην, ἑλικοειδῆ.
καὶ πηγαῖον ἄλλον, ὃς τὸν ἐμπύριον κόσμον ἄγει.

ΨΥΧΗ, ΣΩΜΑ, ΑΝΘΡΩΠΟΣ

χρή σε σπεύδειν πρὸς τὸ φάος καὶ πρὸς πατρὸς αὐγὰς
ἔνθεν ἐπέμφθη σοι ψυχὴ πολὺν ἑσσαμένη νοῦν.[8]
ταῦτα πατὴρ ἐνόησε, βροτὸς δ' οἳ ἐψύχωτο.[9]
σύμβολα γὰρ πατρικὸς νόος ἐνέσπειρε ταῖς ψυχαῖς,[10]
ἔρωτι βαθεῖ ἀναπλήσας τὴν ψυχήν.
κατέθετο γὰρ νοῦν ἐν ψυχῇ, ἐν σώματι δὲ
ὑμέας ἐγκατέθηκε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε.
ἀσώματα μέν ἐστι τὰ θεῖα πάντα,
σώματα δ' ἐν αὐτοῖς ὑμῶν ἕνεκεν ἐνδέδεται[11]
μὴ δυναμένων κατασχεῖν ἀσωμάτους τῶν σωμάτων,[12]

[1] *μέρος ἠελίου τε* (an *μένος*?), Kroll. *ἠδ'* pro *ἥ τε*, Kroll.

[2] *ἀείπολος* pro *ἀεὶ πόλος*, Kroll. Proc. in Timæ. 257 E.

[3] Proc. in Timæ. 311 A. *συλλέγειν*, *λαμβάνουσαν*, *μέρος*, Kroll.

[4] Proc. in Timæ. 141 F.

[5] Proc. in Remp. 387. 43. *μὲν* post *χαῖται*, inserit Kroll et legit *πεφρικότι*.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 279 F. *ἠελίοιο*, Kroll.

[7] Proc. ap. Simpl. 614. 2.

[8] Psell. 13–14.

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 336 A. *δέ οἱ*, Kroll.

[10] Psell. 49 comment. omis. *γὰρ* et *ταῖς*, et legit *ἔσπειρε*.

[11] *δὲ* pro *δ' ἐν*, Kroll.

[12] *μετασχεῖν*, *ἀσωμάτως τῶν ἀσωμάτων*, Kroll.

διὰ τὴν σωματικὴν εἰς ἣν ἐνεκεντρίσθητε φύσιν.[1]
ἐν δὲ θεῷ κεῖνται πυρσοὺς ἕλκουσαι ἀκμαίους
ἐκ πατρόθεν κατιόντες, ἀφ' ὧν ψυχὴ κατιόντων[2]
ἐμπυρίων δρέπεται καρπῶν, ψυχοτρόφον ἄνθος.
διὸ καὶ νοήσασαι τὰ ἔργα τοῦ πατρὸς
μοίρης εἱμαρμένης τὸ πτερὸν φεύγουσιν ἀναιδές.[3]
κἂν γὰρ τήνδε ψυχὴν ἴδῃς ἀποκαταστᾶσαν,
ἀλλ' ἄλλην ἐνίησι πατὴρ ἐναρίθμιον εἶναι.
ἦ μάλα δὴ κεῖναί γε μακάρταται ἔξοχα πασέων[4]
ψυχάων, ποτὶ γαῖαν ἀπ' οὐρανόθεν προχεόνται.
κεῖναι ὄλβιαί τε καὶ οὐ φατὰ νήματα ἔχουσαι.[5]
ὅσσαι ἀπ' αἰγλήεντος, ἄναξ, σέθεν, ἦ δὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ
ἐκ Διὸς ἐξεγένοντο μίτου κρατερῆς ὑπ' ἀνάγκης.[6]
ἠγείσθω ψυχῆς βάθος ἄμβροτον, ὄμματα δ' ἄρδην
πάντα ἐκπέτατον ἄνω.[7]
μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς εἰς τὸν μελαναυγέα κόσμον,[8]
ᾧ βυθὸς αἰὲν ἄπιστος ὑπέστρωταί τε καὶ Ἅιδης[9]
ἀμφικνεφής, ῥυπόων, εἰδωλοχαρής, ἀνόητος,
κρημνώδης, σκολιός, πωρὸν βάθος αἰὲν ἐλίσσων,[10]
ἀεὶ νυμφεύων ἀφανὲς δέμας, ἀργόν, ἄπνευμον.[11]
καὶ ὁ μισοφανὴς κόσμος καὶ τὰ σκολιὰ ῥεῖθρα
ὑφ' ὧν πολλοὶ κατασύρονται.[12]
ζήτησον παράδεισον.[13]
δίζεο σὺ ψυχῆς ὀχετόν, ὅθεν ἦ τίνι τάξει[14]
σώματι θητεύσας, ἐπὶ τάξιν ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης[15]
αὖθις ἀναστήσεις, ἱερῷ λόγῳ ἔργον ἑνώσας.[16]
μήτε κάτω νεύσῃς, κρημνὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπόκειται,[17]
ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος· ἣν ὕπο[18]

[1] Proc. in Remp. 359. 23 B.
[2] *κατιόντας*, Kroll.
[3] Proc. in Timæ. 321 A.
[4] *πασῶν*, Kroll.
[5] *ὄλβισταί, νήματ'*, Kroll.
[6] Synes. de insomn. 151 C.
[7] Psell. 37–38. *οἰγνύσθω*, Kroll. *ὄμματα δὲ πάντα | ἄρδην*, comment.
[8] *μηδὲ* pro *μήτε*, Kroll.
[9] Sic Dam. Synes., *ἄμορφος ὑπέστρωται καὶ ἀειδής.*
[10] *πηρὸν*, Kroll.
[11] Dam. ii. 317 (Synes. de insomn. 138 C).
[12] Proc. in Timæ. 339 B. *μισοφαὴς, οἱ πολλοὶ*, Kroll.
[13] Psell. 25.
[14] [*καὶ*] pro *σὺ*, comment. *δίζηαι ψυχῆς*, Kroll.
[15] *ἀφ' ἧς ἐρρύης*, om. comment. et Kroll, qui legit *θητεύσασ'* et coni. *ὑπέβη καὶ πῶς.*
[16] *ἰθὺς* pro *αὖθις*, comment. Psell. 1–6.
[17] *μὴ* [*δὲ*] pro *μήτε*, comment. *μὴ ⟨δὲ⟩*, Kroll.
[18] *ὑφ' ἣν ὁ τῆς | ἀνάγκης*, comment. et Kroll. Psell. 4–6.

δεινῆς ἀνάγκης θρόνος ἐστίν.
μὴ σὺ γ' αὔξανε τὴν εἱμαρμένην.[1]
ψυχὴ ἡ μερόπων θεὸν ἄγξει πῶς εἰς ἑαυτήν.[2]
οὐδὲν θνητὸν ἔχουσα, ὅλη θεόθεν μεμέθυσται.[3]
ἁρμονίαν αὐχεῖ γὰρ ὑφ' ἧ πέλε σῶμα βρότειον.[4]
ἐκτείνας πύριον νοῦν ἔργον ἐπ' εὐσεβίης,
ῥευστὸν καὶ σῶμα σαώσεις.[5]
ἔστι καὶ εἰδώλῳ μερὶς εἰς τόπον ἀμφιφάοντα.[6]
πάντοθεν ἁπλάστῳ ψυχῇ πυρὸς ἠνία τεῖνον.[7]
ὁ πυριθαλπὴς ἔννοια πρωτίστην ἔχει τάξιν.
τῷ πυρὶ γὰρ βροτὸς ἐμπελάσας θεόθεν φάος ἕξει.[8]
δηθύνοντι γὰρ βροτῷ κραιπνοὶ μάκαρες τελέθουσιν.[9]
αἱ ποῖναι μερόπων ἄγκτειραι[10]
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.
ἐλπὶς τρεφέτω σε πυρήοχος ἀγγελικῷ ἐνὶ χώρῳ.[11]
ἀλλ' οὐκ εἰσδέχεται κείνης τὸ θέλειν πατρικὸς νοῦς,
μέχρις ἂν ἐξέλθῃ λήθης καὶ ῥῆμα λαλήσῃ.
μνήμην ἐνθεμένη πατρικοῦ συνθήματος ἀγνοῦ.[12]
τοῖς δὲ διδακτὸν φάους ἔδωκε γνώρισμα λαβέσθαι.
τοὺς δὲ ὑπνώοντας ἑῆς ἐνεκάρπισεν ἀλκῆς.[13]
μὴ πνεῦμα μολύνῃς, μηδὲ βαθύνῃς τὸ ἐπίπεδον.[14]
μηδὲ τὸ τῆς ὕλης σκύβαλον κρημνῷ καταλείψῃς.[15]
μὴ ἐξάξῃς, ἵνα μὴ ἐξιοῦσα ἔχῃ τι.[16]
βίῃ ὅτι σῶμα λιπόντων ψυχαὶ καθαρώταται.[17]
ψυχῆς ἐξωστῆρες, ἀνάπνοοι, εὔλυτοί εἰσιν.[18]
λαιῇσ' ἐν λαγόσιν Ἑκάτης ἀρετῆς πέλε πηγὴ[19]

[1] Psell. 8. *συναυξήσῃς*, comment.

[2] Comment. omis. *ἡ* et *πῶς*. *αὐτήν*, Kroll.

[3] *θεόθεν*, om. comment.

[4] Psell. 19–21.

[5] Psell. 30–31. *εὐσεβίας*, Kroll; *πύρινον*, Stanl.

[6] Psell. 27.

[7] Psell. 45.

[8] Proc. in Timæ. 65 B (ubi legitur *τὴν πυριθαλπῆ ἔννοιαν πρωτίστην ἔχειν τάξιν*).

[9] Proc. in Timæ. 65 D. Omis. *γὰρ*, Kroll.

[10] Psell. 36.

[11] Olymp. in Phæd. 31. 21; 34. 3.

[12] Psell. 10–12. Omis. comment. *τὸ θέλειν*.

[13] Synes. de insomn. 135 A. *διδακτὸν ἔδωκε φάους*, Kroll. *καὶ* post *δὲ*, inser. Kroll.

[14] Psell. 26. *τοὐπίπεδον*, Kroll.

[15] Psell. 28. *οὐδὲ καταλείψεις*, Kroll.

[16] Psell. 29; cf. Plotinus Enneades, i. 9. In comment. *ἐξίῃ ἔχουσά τι*.

[17] Psell. 1141 B. *κατάρατοι*, coniec. Kroll.

[18] Psell. 16. *ἀνάπνοες*, comment. et Kroll.

[19] *λαιῇς ἐν λαγόσιν κοίτης*, Psell.

ἔνδον ὅλη μίμνουσα, τὸ πάρθενον οὐ προιεῖσα.[1]
ὦ τολμηροτάτης φύσεως ἄνθρωπε τέχνασμα,[2]
μὴ τὰ πελώρια μέτρα γαίης ὑπὸ σὴν φρένα βάλλου,
οὐ γὰρ ἀληθείης φυτὸν ἐνὶ χθονί.[3]
μήτε μέτρει μέτρα ἠελίου κανόνας συναθροίσας,[4]
ἀιδίῳ βουλῇ φέρεται οὐχ ἕνεκα σεῖο.[5]
μηναῖόν τε δρόμημα καὶ ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα.[6]
μήνης ῥοῖζον ἔασον, ἀεὶ τρέχει ἔργῳ ἀνάγκης
ἀστέριον προπόρθευμα, σέθεν χάριν οὐκ ἐλοχεύθη.[7]
αἰθέριος ὀρνίθων ταρσὸς πλατὺς οὔποτ' ἀληθής.
οὐ θυσιῶν σπλάγχνων τε τομαί· τάδ' ἀθύρματα πάντα,[8]
ἐμπορικῆς ἀπάτης στηρίγματα· φεῦγε σὺ ταῦτα
μέλλων εὐσεβίης ἱερὸν παράδεισον ἀνοίγειν,
ἔνθ' ἀρετὴ σοφία τε καὶ εὐνομία συνάγονται.[9]
σὸν γὰρ ἀγγεῖον θῆρες χθονὸς οἰκήκουσιν.[10]
αὐτοὺς δὲ χθὼν κατοδύρεται ἐς τέκνα μέχρις.[11]

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΕΣ, ΤΕΛΕΤΑΙ

ἡ φύσις πείθει εἶναι τοὺς δαίμονας ἀγνούς,
καὶ τὰ κακῆς ὕλης βλαστήματα χρηστὰ καὶ ἐσθλά.[12]
ἀλλὰ ταῦτα ἐν ἀβάτοις σήκοις διανοίας ἀνελίττω.
πῦρ ἵκελον σκιρτηδὸν ἐπ' ἠέρος οἶδμα τιταῖνον,[13]
ἢ καὶ πῦρ ἀτύπωτον ὅθεν φωνὴν προθέουσαν,
ἢ φῶς πλούσιον ἀμφιγεήν, ῥοιζαῖον, ἐλιχθέν·[14]
ἀλλὰ καὶ ἵππον ἰδεῖν φωτὸς πλέον ἀστράπτοντα,
ἢ καὶ παῖδα θεοῖς νώτοις ἐποχούμενον ἵππου,[15]
ἔμπυρον ἢ χρυσῷ πεπυκασμένον ἢ παλίγυμνον[16]

[1] *μένουσα* et *παρθένιον*, comment. Psell. 17–18.

[2] Psell. 39. *τολμηρᾶς ἐκ*, comment.

[3] *ἐν* pro *ἐνὶ*, Kroll.

[4] *μηδὲ* pro *μήτε*, Psell. et Kroll; *μέτρον*, Kroll.

[5] *πατρὸς* post *φέρεται*, Psell. et Kroll. *σοῦ*, Kroll. Psell. 1128 B, C.

[6] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D. *προπόρευμα*, Kroll et Psell.

[7] Proc. in Timæ. 277 D, et Psell. 1128 B, C. *προπόρευμα*, Kroll et Psell.

[8] *ὄτομαι*, Patric.; *ὄθομαι*, Stanleius.

[9] Psell. 1128 B. C.

[10] Psell. 7. Comment. omis. *γὰρ*.

[11] Psell. 15. *ἀεὶ τούσδε... ἃ ἃ τούσδε*, Kroll. *κατωρύεται*, comment. *κατώρικται*, Patric.

[12] Psell. 34–35. In comment. inserit *πιστεύειν* post *πείθει*.

[13] Proc. in Remp. 380. 5.

[14] *ἀμφιφαὲς*, Stan. Lips. *ἀμφὶ γυὴν*, Kroll.

[15] Melins Kroll, *θοοῖς* pro *τεοῖς*.

[16] *πάλι γυμνόν*, Kroll.

ἢ καὶ τοξεύοντα καὶ ἑστῶτα ἐπὶ νώτοις.[1]
πολλάκις ἦν λέξῃς μοι, ἀθρήσεις πάντ' ἀχλύοντα·[2]
οὔτε γὰρ οὐράνιος κυδρὸς τότε φαίνεται ὄγκος.[3]
ἀστέρες οὐ λάμπουσι, τὸ μήνης φῶς κεκάλυπται,
χθὼν οὐχ ἕστηκεν, βλέπεταί τε πάντα κεραυνοῖς.[4]
μὴ φύσεως καλέσῃς αὔτοπτον ἄγαλμα,[5]
οὐ γὰρ χρὴ κείνους σε βλέπειν πρὶν σῶμα τελεσθῇ.
ὅτι τὰς ψυχὰς θέλγοντες ἀεὶ τῶν τελετῶν ἀπάγουσιν.[6]
ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρῴσκουσι χθόνιοι κύνες,
οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς σῶμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ δεικνύντες.[7]
ἐνέργει περὶ τὸν Ἑκατικὸν στρόφαλον.[8]
ὀνόματα βάρβαρα μήποτ' ἀλλάξῃς,[9]
εἰσὶ γὰρ ὀνόματα παρ' ἑκάστοις θεόσδοτα
δύναμιν ἐν τελεταῖς ἄρρητον ἔχοντα.
ἡνίκα βλέψῃς μορφῆς ἄτερ εὐίερον πῦρ[10]
λαμπόμενον σκιρτηδὸν ὅλου κατὰ βένθεα κόσμου,
κλῦθι πυρὸς φωνήν.
ἡνίκα δαίμονα δ' ἐρχόμενον πρόσγειον ἀθρήσῃς,
θύε λίθον μνίζουριν ἐπαυδῶν.[11]
εἰσὶ πάντα πυρὸς ἑνὸς ἐκγεγαῶτα.[12]
πατὴρ οὐ φόβον ἐνθρῴσκει, πειθὼ δ' ἐπιχεύει.[13]

[1] ἑστηῶτ', Kroll.

[2] πάντα λέοντα pro πάντη λεκτόν, comment. πάντη λεκτόν, Psell. Nos sec. Kroll.

[3] κυρτὸς pro κυδρὸς, comment. et Kroll.

[4] Psell. 40–44. φλέγεται, melius Kroll.

[5] Psell. 1136 C.

[6] Proc. in Alc. 340. 6. τελεσθῇς, Kroll.

[7] Psell. 32–33. οὔτ', comment. Om. ἀνδρὶ in comment. Alii, ἐκ δ' ἄρα κόλπων γαίης θρώσκουσ', οὔποτ' ἀληθὲς | σῆμα βροτῷ ἀνδρὶ χθόνιοι κύνες δεικνύντες.

[8] Psell. 1133 A.

[9] Psell. 1132 C.

[10] ⟨δὲ⟩, Kroll. Psell. 46–48.

[11] Psell. 1148 B. μνούζιριν ἐπᾴδων, Kroll. sub voce μνίζουριν suspicor forsan corruptionem part. pass. arab. منظور (manẓūr) de verbo نظر (naẓar) 'videre' sublatere. si hoc recte se habet, de sententia confer Geoponica xv. 1. 8: ὁ λύκος προορῶν τὸν ἄνθρωπον ἀσθενέστερον αὐτὸν καὶ ἄφωνον ποιεῖ . . . ὀφθεὶς δὲ πρότερος ὁ λύκος αὐτὸς ἀσθενέστερος γίνεται. verba ex linguis orientalibus in incantamentis huiusmodi frequentissime usurpari docet Heim in Annal. Philol. Suppl. xix. (1892) p. 528, qui etiam exempla multa Ἐφεσίων γραμμάτων profert pp. 529–542.

[12] Psell. 52.

[13] Psell. 60.

APPENDIX VI

ALLUSIONS TO ZOROASTER IN VARIOUS OTHER OLDER LITERATURES

1. Armenian Allusions.
2. Chinese Allusions.
3. Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian References.
4. Icelandic Allusion.

I

Allusions to Zoroaster in Armenian Literature

The references to Zoroaster in Armenian literature, so far as I know, are few, but other scholars may be able to add to the list. Those allusions easiest to be found are in Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, 2 vols., Paris, 1867–1869; see tome i. pp. 28, 29; ii. pp. 59, 69, 189, 191, n., 230 (377), 381. These references are used here in part.

(a) The So-called Armenian History of Khorene. — The chapters of the so-called Armenian history of Moses of Khorene which refer to Zoroaster give the same or a similar record as Cephalion and others[1] in associating his name with Semiramis. Zoroaster is a Magian and religious chief of the Medes. Semiramis gives into his charge the government of Assyria and Nineveh, and entrusts to him the greatest power, while she withdraws to her favorite city in Armenia. Zoroaster raises a rebellion against Semiramis, and the issue of the war is told.

Several translations of Moses or of this passage are accessible: Whiston, *Moses Chorenens.*, London, 1736, 1. ch. 16 (quoted in Müller's *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. p. 627, and in Gilmore, *Persika of Ktesias*, London, 1888, p. 30, n.); Langlois, *Collection des Historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, Paris, 1867–1869, tome ii. 59, 69; cf. *ibid.* i.

[1] E.g. Agathias; cf. Hyde, *Hist. Relig. vet. Pers.* p. 412.

p. 28 (Mar Apas Catina, ch. **10**); Lauer, *Moses von Chorene, Geschichte Gross-Armeniens übersetzt*, Regensburg 1869, p. 13 seq. The sources are discussed by Carrière, *Nouvelles sources de Moïse de Khoren*, Vienna, 1893; cf. also Vetter in *Festgruss an Roth*, p. 81 seq.

For a rendering of the passages, in which Zoroaster is alluded to in Moses of Khorene, I am indebted to the kind help of my colleague, Mr. Abraham Yohannan, of Columbia University, whose version is here given for convenience.

Mos. Khor. 1. 6 [in speaking of Zrvan and basing the narrative on the legendary Berosian Sibyl, Moses of Khorene alludes to three princes of the earth, 'Zrvan, Titan, and Japhet' (Zrvan, Didan, Habedost). In his opinion these are identical with 'Shem, Ham, and Japhet' (Sem, Kam, Habet). He then goes on to state, upon the authority of the Berosian Sibyl], 'These divided the whole world between them. Over the other two, Zrvan gained the mastery, — he, of whom Zoroaster (Zradasht) king of the Bactrians, that is the Medes, states that he is the source and father of the gods.'

Mos. Khor. 1. 17 (16) 'About Semiramis — The reason why she slew her sons — How she fled from Zoroaster (Zradasht) the Magian into Armenia — And how she was put to death by her son Ninyas (Ninouas): — This queen was always accustomed, for her recreation, to pass the summer in the northern region, in the fortified city which she had built in Armenia. She left Assyria and Nineveh in charge of the governor Zoroaster, a Magian and patriarch of the Medes. And having repeatedly done this, she (finally) entrusted the sovereignty entirely to him.'

'Being herself often rebuked by her sons because of her wanton and meretricious character, she put them all to death; only Ninyas (Ninouas) escaped. She chose to bestow upon her paramours all the power and treasures, without any regard to her sons. Her husband Ninus was not dead, nor buried by her in the palace of Nineveh, as is reported; but he abandoned the realm and fled to Crete, because he was aware of her vice and shameless behavior.'

'It was then that her grown-up sons reminded her of all this in hopes of restraining her from her devilish and warlike desires and of having the power and treasures entrusted to them. Becoming excessively enraged thereat, she killed them all, and only Ninyas remained as we have described above.'

'But when some misunderstanding occurred on the part of Zoroaster with reference to the queen, and enmity arose between the two, Semiramis made war against him because he was designing to rule by force over all. In the midst of the war Semiramis fled before Zoroaster into Armenia.'

'At this juncture, Ninyas (her son), taking advantage of the opportunity for revenge, killed his mother and reigned over Assyria and Nineveh.'

(b) Elisæus, who is presumably a contemporary of Vartan (A.D. fifth century), in his history of the latter, and of the wars which the Armenians waged against the Persians, alludes incidentally to the

'Magians,' and the 'religion of Zoroaster'; see Langlois, op. cit. ii. 189, 230.

(c) The Armenian Eznik (A.D. fifth century,) in his refutation of the sects and of heretical opinions, devotes an entire division (ii.) of his work to the false tenets of the Persians who maintain the doctrine of Ormazd, Ahriman, and Zrvan, and, in this connection, he incidentally mentions 'Zradasht' (Zoroaster) as responsible for the heretical views as to the origin of the sun and moon, cf. Langlois, op. cit. ii. 381. Most of this passage is translated in Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 542–551, but not the paragraph relating to Zoroaster; cf. also Haug, *Essays on the Parsis*, p. 13.

(d) Thomas Arzrounī, the learned Armenian annalist (A.D. ninth–tenth century),[1] gives a series of statements regarding Zoroaster and the Persian belief in Ormazd. Some of his allusions are identical with the common accounts which associate Zoroaster's name with Ninus and Semiramis. One passage is also of importance in connection with the prescriptions of the Vendīdād. It gives a legendary explanation of the origin of the injunction which Zoroaster gave for killing noxious animals. The passage is to be found translated in the valuable publication of Brosset, *Collection d'historiens arméniens; Th. Ardzrouni*, etc., tome i, S. Pétersbourg, 1874. As this work is not easily accessible and as the passage does not seem to be generally familiar to Zoroastrian students, it is worth while to reproduce Brosset's translation (op. cit., livre 1, § 3, pp. 19–22, 25; § 4, p. 27).

1. 3, 'De l'empire des Assyriens; que Zradacht et Manithop furent chefs des contrées orientales; leurs dogmes absurdes.

'Des temps écoulés entre Bel et Ninos, il ne reste dans les livres anciens, ainsi que nous l'avons dit précédemment, aucune trace considérable et éclatante, et cela, sans doute, par plusieurs raisons. D'abord, par suite de la confusion des langues, il régnait une fâcheuse mésintelligence, puis les annalistes chaldéens ne retraçaient pas les faiblesses des hommes de haut rang. Et encore, si même les exploits et actes de bravoure de Ninos ont été racontés, comme Bel et pis encore, il en vint à un tel degré d'orgueil, qu'il se regardait comme le premier des héros, comme le premier des rois, et ayant fait rassembler en un tas, en grande hâte, tous les écrits anciens, il les livra aux flammes, afin que par la suite il ne restât plus de souvenir d'autre personne illustre que la sienne.[2] Il passe donc pour avoir régné sur toute l'Asie, l'Inde exceptée et sur la Libye. Il fit aussi réparer, pour l'honneur de son nom, la ville de Ninive, autrefois construite par Assour, pour être la résidence royale, et qu'avait ravagée Nébroth. Il détrôna ensuite le mage Zradacht, roi des Bactriens et des Mèdes, et le chassa

[1] Cf. Neumann, *Geschichte der armen. Lit.*, pp. 123–125, Leipzig, 1836.

[2] Mr. Gray notes a similar act by Tsin-Chi-hoang-ti.

jusqu'aux frontières des Héphtalites, devint le maître puissant de tout le Khoujastan, des contrées de l'orient et de la Perse, jusque par-delà Balkh et Dépouhan ; de Comaïd, de Gauzpan, de Chéribamamacan, de Khodjihrastan, et pour vrai dire, il soumit durant 52 ans, avec une incroyable valeur, tout le pays jusqu'à la mer des Indes. Lorsqu'il mourut, ne laissant que de très jeunes enfants, il remit l'autorité à sa femme Chamiram, qui l'exerça elle-même avec plus de vigueur que Ninos ; car elle enceignit Babylone de murailles, dompta la rébellion de Zradacht et le reduisit en servitude. Mais l'ivresse des voluptés lui faisant oublier ses fils, elle prodigua ses trésors à ses amants favoris et établit Zradacht commandant de Babylone, du Khoujastan et de toute la Perse orientale. Pour elle, elle passa en Arménie, ou l'attirait la renommée d'un descendant d' Haïc. Quant à son arrivée en ce pays, aux détails de la bataille, à la construction de superbes édifices, veritablement admirables, à la revolte de Zradacht, à la mort de Chamiram, aux récits des magiciens, à ce sujet, tout cela a été raconté par d'autres. Elle avait régné 42 ans. L'autorité passa à son fils Zarmia, qui fut appelé Ninovas, du nom de son père. Celui-ci fut maître de l'Assyrie et, durant un temps, de l'Arménie. Peu soucieux d'agrandissements, doué d'un caractère paisible et non belliqueux, il passa tranquillement ses jours.'

'Cependant Zradacht, possédant les contrées à l'orient de la Perse, cessa depuis lors d'inquiéter l'Assyrie. Dédaignant comme vieilleries et choses par trop obscures, les récits sur Bel et sur les autres descendants des génies, il débita sur son propre compte de nouvelles fables, afin de séparer du même coup les Perses et les Mars des Babyloniens, et, par ses doctrines et par des noms, de se mettre en communication avec les Assyriens. Il se mit donc à appeler [de ?][1] nouveau Zrovan et souche des dieux Sem, fils de Noé. "Celui-ci, dit-il, voulant devenir père d'Ormizd, dit : "Qu'ainsi soit, j'aurai pour fils Ormizd, qui fera le ciel et la terre." Zrovan conçut donc deux jumeaux, dont l'un fut assez rusé pour se hâter de paraître le premier, "Qui es-tu ? lui dit Zrovan. — Ton fils Ormizd. — Mon fils Ormizd est lumineux et de bonne odeur, et toi tu es obscur et mauvaise langue." Celui-ci ayant beaucoup insisté, il lui donna le pouvoir pour mille ans. Ormizd, étant né au bout de ce terme, dit à son frère : "Je t'ai cédé pendant mille ans ; cède-moi présentement." Connaissant son infériorité, Ahrman résista et se révolta, et devint un dieu opposé à Ormizd. Quand Ormizd créa la lumière, Ahrman fit les ténèbres ; quand Ormizd créa la vie, Ahrman fit la mort ; quand Ormizd créa le feu, le bien, Ahrman fit l'eau et le mal. Pour ne point dire tout, l'un après l'autre, tout ce qui est bon et les gens vertueux proviennent d'Ormizd ; d'Ahrman, tout ce qui est mauvais et les démons. Maintenant à celui qui pensera que ces doctrines ne méritent qu'une explosion de rire, et qui traite de fou le roi Zradacht, réponds que ce dieu impuissant, Ormizd, ne travaille pas en vain, et que les deux frères, bien qu'ennemies mutuels, se courrouceront à la fois pour l'exterminer.'

'Le même insensé Zradacht raconte encore qu'une guerre s'étant élevée entre Ormizd et Ahrman, le premier éprouva une faim enragée et courut les champs, pour trouver de la nourriture. Il rencontra un bœuf, qu'il déroba.

[1] Added by Mr. Schuyler, who also notes from Brosset that Arzrounī always writes *Ormzd*, *Ahrmn*.

L'ayant tué et caché sous un tas de pierres, il attendit le crépuscule, pour enlever chez lui le produit de son larcin et rassasier sa faim. Le soir venu, il était tout joyeux et allait se gorger de nourriture, mais il trouva le bœuf gâté, devoré par les lézards, par les araignées, les stellions et les mouches, qui avaient fait leur proie de son gibier. Maintenant donc la légion des cloportes et des jjacs vinrent, et comme ils firent beaucoup de mal au dieu, Zradacht prescrivit une quantité de règlements puerils. Ce n'est point à la légère que nous sommes décidé à écrire ces choses, mais parce que cette doctrine satanique a causé bien des catastrophes sanglantes à notre Arménie, qu'elle a ruinée entièrement, ainsi que le fait voir l'histoire des saints Vardanians, écrite par le vénérable prêtre Eghiché. Les fils des pyrolâtres sont là, pour l'affirmer encore.'

'Cependant Manithop, roi des Hephtals, ajoute et affirme encore ceci: le feu, suivant lui, n'est pas la créature d'Ormizd, mais sa substance. Héphestos et Promithos, *i.e.* le soleil et la lune, ayant dérobé le feu d'Ormizd, en donnèrent une partie aux hommes. La terre est l'asyle du dieu Spandaramet—Bacchus; —elle n'a été créée par personne, mais elle existait, telle qu'elle existe; elle continue d'être, et l'homme est né de lui-même.'

Three pages farther on (p. 25) is found another allusion to Zoroaster: 'Quant aux autres assertions des mythologues, et à leurs dires sans fondements, j'en prendrai, pour le réfuter, ce qu'il y à de plus raisonnable dans les traditions confuses, transmises à leurs sectateurs par les orientaux Zradacht et Manithop.'

[In the next chapter Thomas Arzrounī summarizes the reigns of the successive Assyrian rulers down to the rise of the kingdom of Persia under Cyrus, and Zoroaster's death is incidentally mentioned. From the allusions to Ninus and Semiramis and Abraham, it is evident that he places Zoroaster at an early period. The text runs]: 'Nous avons suivi méthodiquement la série des générations et rangé avec soin les ancêtres de l'empire d'Assyrie, dont le premier héritier fut Zamésos [*i.e.* Zarmia, plus haut], le même que Ninovas, fils de Ninus et de Chamiram, en la 53e année de la vie du patriarche Abraham, qui régna sur toute l'Asie et l'Arménie. Zradacht étant mort, il fut de nouveau, 38 ans durant, monarque pacifique de tout ce qui est à l'O. de la Perse, qui lui obéit et lui paya tribut. Après lui, son fils Arias, le 4e depuis Ninus, durant 30 ans. Après lui les rois d'Assyrie, se succédant au pouvoir, de père en fils, ne firent rien de remarquable, et pas un seul d'entre eux ne régna moins de 20 ans.'

II

Allusions to Zoroaster in Chinese Literature

For my first direct information on this subject, a year ago, I am personally indebted to the Sinologist, Dr. F. Hirth, of Munich, whose kindness I cordially appreciate, and whose suggestions I gratefully acknowledge. Dr. Hirth recently wrote me that some of the material of which he spoke to me is easily accessible in the monographs of Messieurs Chavannes and Devéria, from which I give

selections, as they can but be of special interest to students of Zoroastrianism. Dr. Frederick W. Williams, of Yale University, New Haven, furthermore draws my attention to the existence of a number of references in Chinese literature to the religion of Zoroaster as *Po-sz king kian*, 'religion of Persia,' or Po-sz. I am sincerely indebted to these gentlemen, and I hope that, joined perhaps by Mgr. C. de Harlez and others, they may pursue their researches farther in this particular line, and add to our knowledge of the Prophet of Ancient Iran, and his influence in the Far East.

In a letter which Dr. Hirth wrote to me, he says: 'What I consider to be the Chinese transcription of the name *Zoroaster* occurs in a work called *Si-ki-tsung-yü* (chap. 1, p. 20). Speaking of the deity, Mahēsvara (in Chinese *Ma-yi-schou-lo*), the author, who wrote about the middle of the twelfth century (cf. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 128) says: "It [the deity] originally came from the great country of Persia, and is [there] called *Su-lu-tschë*. The god had a disciple by the name of *Yüan-tchēn*, who studied the doctrine of his master, etc., in Persia, and afterwards travelled to China to spread it there." '[1]

M. Éd. Chavannes, *Le Nestorianisme et l'Inscription de Kara-Balgassoun* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Janv. Fév. 1897, p. 61 seq., gives some very interesting allusions to the Persian religion and its spread in China, onward from the seventh century of our era. I select two extracts which mention Zoroaster. The monograph itself should be consulted.

Chavannes, op. cit. p. 61, notes, by way of introduction: 'A la date de la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631),[2] le *Fo-tsou t'ong ki* dit (Chapter xxxix. p. 71 V°, 9e cahier de la lettre[3] dans l'édition japonaise du Tripiṭaka de la Société Asiatique): —

"Autrefois *Sou-li-tche* (Zarathushtra, Zoroastre), du royaume de Perse, avait institué la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu; un édit impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*."[4]

'Dans le même ouvrage (chap. liv. p. 151 r°), on lit: —

[1] On seeing Devéria's citation of the same passage (given above), Dr. Hirth supplements his note by adding that it is perhaps the intention of the passage to indicate that the doctrine rather than Yüan-tchēn travelled to China. See Devéria's quotation.

[2] I.e. A.D. 631.

[3] Here follows a Chinese character.

[4] I.e. Chaldea; see Devéria, op. cit. p. 456. Similarly De Rosny, *Le Culte de Zoroastre chez les Chinois* in *Congrès int. des Orient.*, 1me Sess. ii. 323–326.

"Pour ce qui est de la religion *mo-ni*-enne du dieu céleste du feu,[1] autrefois, dans le royaume de Perse il y eut Zoroastre ; il mit en vigueur la religion du dieu céleste du feu ; ses disciples vinrent faire des conversions en Chine ; sous les *T'ang*, la 5e année *tcheng-koan* (631), un de ses sectateurs, le mage *Ho-lou* vint au palais apporter la religion du dieu céleste ; un décret impérial ordonna d'établir à la capitale un temple de *Ta-ts'in*."'

M. G. Devéria, *Musulmans et Manichéens Chinois* in *Journ. Asiatique*, Nov. Déc. 1897, p. 445 seq., especially discusses certain Chinese material on the subject of Manichæism; he cites and translates (on p. 456) the last passage given by Chavannes, and notes also the one to which Hirth had already called attention.

Devéria, op. cit. p. 462 : 'Yao-Koan des Song dit : les caractères [. . .][2] désignent l'Esprit étranger du ciel ; [. . .] se prononce *hien ;* son culte est celui que les livres sacrés bouddhiques appellent le culte de Mahesvara ; c'est dans la grande Perse qu'il prit naissance ; on l'y nomme (culte de) Zoroastre ; celui-ci eut un disciple appelé Hiuan-tchen (Céleste vérité ou Véridique céleste), qui étudia la religion du maître ; il descendait de Jouhouo-chau (Joukhshan ou Soukhshan ou Djoukhshan ?), grand gouverneur général de la Perse ; sa propagande s'exerça en Chine.'[3]

III

References to some Syriac, Arabic, and other Mohammedan or Persian Allusions to Zoroaster

The most convenient collection of material on Syriac and Arabic allusions to Zoroaster is by Gottheil in the book so often quoted above and easily accessible. I merely repeat the title below. To supplement this, see brief remark in *AJSL.* xiii. 225 and I note also (by pages) such references as I have observed in Hyde, Barbier de Meynard, Vullers, or elsewhere, as the works can be consulted.

1. Gottheil, R., *References to Zoroaster in Syriac and Arabic Literature*, collected in *Classical Studies in Honour of Henry Drisler*, New York, 1894 (Columbia University Press), pp. 24–51. This monograph gives abundant bibliographical material.

[1] Devéria, op. cit. p. 456, renders 'de la religion de *Mo-ni* de l'Esprit céleste du feu,' and notes that *Mo-ni* refers to the Manichæans (p. 464).

[2] Here are Chinese characters.

[3] Cf. also Fergusson, *Chinese Researches*, Part I., pp. 15 seq., Shanghai, 1880, on the Chinese knowledge of Bactria and Persia. Specialists can doubtless add much on this subject. Professor Bang reminds me of *ZDMG.* xliv. 151 ; xlv. 627 ; *WZKM.* xii. 51.

2. Hyde, T., *Historia Religionis veterum Persarum*, Oxon. 1700, the following pages: —

Shahrastānī, p. 153 (fires), 294–296 (Magian doctrines and Z.), 298–300 (cf. Gottheil, p. 46 seq.), 382 (Messianic prophecy by Z.).
Ibn Shahna, p. 162 seq. (Z. and dualism).
Shāh Kholgī, p. 164 (Z. and the Gāhānbār).
Bar Bahlūl (Syriac), p. 310 (etymology of Z.'s name; Messianic prophecies; cf. Gottheil, p. 28).
Abūlfeda, p. 311 (Z. born at Urumiah).
Beiḍāwī, p. 313 (Z. and religion; Z.'s mountain at Istakhr).
Abū Mohammed Muṣtafā, p. 313 (Z. and Ezra; doctrines).
Bundārī, p. 314 seq. (after Ṭabarī).
Majdī, pp. 315–317, 319, 385 (Z. Palestine and Ādarbaijān; conversion of V.; molten brass ordeal; cypress of Kishmar; Jāmāsp).
Khvāndamīrī, p. 317 seq. (Z. and fire-worship; V. at Istakhr).
Shāh Nāmah Nasr, pp. 319–325 (abridged prose account from ShN. of Z.'s conversion of V., and his history).
Abūl-Faraj, p. 384 (Messianic).
Khalīl Sūfī, pp. 385, 421 (Jāmāsp = Daniel; the Persian language).
Sad-dar, p. 433 seq. (gives a Latin translation).
Al-Makīn, p. 529 (Z. contemporary with Smerdis; Z. institutes a communion).
Eutychius, see Appendix II., p. 168 above.

3. The *Mujmal al-Tawārīkh* (A.D. 1126, author unknown). *Extraits du Modjmal al-Tewarikh, relatifs à l'histoire de la Perse*, traduits par Jules Mohl (*Journal Asiatique*, tome xi. pp. 136, 258, 320, Paris, 1841). This work is later than Ṭabarī, Hamzah, and Firdausī. The author makes use of Hamzah. The special pages which are of interest in connection with Zoroaster are the following: p. 147 (chronology), 160 (Lohrāsp), 161 (Gushtāsp), 162–163 (Bahman, Hūmāī, Dārāb, Dārā, Sikander), 333 (the reign of Gushtāsp, war with Arjāsp).

4. Barbier de Meynard *Dictionnaire géographique, historique et littéraire de la Perse et des Contrées adjacentes, extrait du Módjem el-Bouldan de Yaqout*, Paris, 1861. Zoroaster is especially mentioned in the following articles, which should be consulted, and quotations have already been made from them: pp. 26, 85 *Ourmiah*, p. 33 *Oustounawend*, p. 367 *Schiz*, p. 514–515 *Mah-Dinar* (orig. *Din-Zeraduscht*).

Important information further illustrating the subject may be found under the following heads in the same translation from Yāḳūt (the list, however, not complete): p. 27 *Erwend, Elvend*, 63 *Irān*, 75 *Badeghis*, 80 *Bamiān, Bamīn*, 86 *Bakhdjermiān*, 100, *Bost*

(in Seistān), 106 *Bosht* (mentions Vishtāsp), 107 *Boschtenfurousch* (for Vishtāsp), 112 *Balkh* (for Lohrāsp), 124 *Behistoun*, 167 *Djounbond, Gounbed* (for Isfendīār), 183 *Djeihoun* (Jīhūn, Oxus), 197 *Khoraçān* (anc. Pers. kings), 224, 236 *Debawend, Demawend*, 251 *Dinewer*, 268 *Rouiān*, 272 *Riwend*, 273 *Rey, Raī* (but Z. is not mentioned), 280 *Zaboulistān* (Rūstam), 284 *Zerd* (mt.), 300 *Sebelān* (mt., but Z. is not mentioned), 300–305 *Sedjestān, Seistān*, 367 *Schiz*, 413 *Farmed*, 464 *Qoumè* (Kūmish), 467 *Qohendez* (qu. Av. Kanha Daēza?), 469 *Kaboul*, 471 *Kariān* (Magian pyraea), 477 *Kourr* (no mention of Vishtāsp), 489 *Kouschtasfi* (mentions Vishtāsp), 489 *Keschmer* (no mention of Z. or V.), 569 *Noubehar* (temple at Balkh).

5. Iskandar Nāmah. Sketch of the Codex of Iskandar Nāmah, Nizāmī, in *Catalogo della Biblioteca Naniana*, Assemani, vol. i. pp. 112–122, esp. 119 seq. Division xv. (Lohrāsp, contemporary of Jeremiah and Daniel; at his time lived Zardusht, but Abūlfaraj makes him flourish under Cambyses; Lohrasp reigned 120 years). Division xvi. Vishtāsp and Zoroaster (doctrines of Zoroaster; Vishtāsp reigned about 120 years; in his time lived Socrates of Greece, and Jāmāsp the Persian Philosopher). Divisions xvii.–xx. (sketch of following reigns down to Iskandar).

6. 'Ulamā-ī Islām, a Persian work in prose. This treatise of the twelfth century A.D. deals rather with a vision of Zardusht and with eschatology. It is accessible in English and in German: Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 560–563, I'lmā-i-Islām translated; Vullers, *Fragmente über Zoroaster*, pp. 43–67, Ulemaï Islam übersetzt. See also comment by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 135, and Anquetil du Perron, *Zend-Avesta*, ii. p. 339, West, in *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 123.

7. Dasātīr. This curious collection, with its commentary, professes to be old; but it is criticised adversely by Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, pp. 411–412. It is quoted by the Dabistān. Some selections, with commentary, from the chapter on Zardusht's philosophy are added here from the only edition with translation that is accessible. The spelling of the edition is preserved practically unchanged, but with a few corrections of accents. The title of the edition reads: *The Desatir or Sacred Writings of the Ancient Persian Prophets;* in the Original Tongue; together with the Ancient Persian Version of the Fifth Sasan; carefully published by Mulla Bin Firuz Kaus. With English translation. 2 vols. Bombay, 1818.

Dasātīr, p. 120, § 42. 'Now a Wise Man, named Tiânûr,[1] will

[1] Tûtiânûsh, *Pers.*

come from Nûrâkh[1] in order to consult thee concerning the real nature of things.'

§ 43. 'I will tell thee what he asketh, and do thou answer (*his questions*) before he putteth them.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when the fame of the excellence of the nature of Zertusht had spread all over the world, and when Isfendiâr went round the world, erected fire-temples, and raised domes over the fires; the wise men of Yunân selected a sage named Tûtiânûsh, who at that time had the superiority in acquirements over them all, to go to Irân and to enquire of Zertusht concerning the real nature of things. If he was puzzled and unable to answer, he could be no real prophet; but if he returned an answer, he was a speaker of truth. When the Yunânî Sage arrived at Balkh, Gushtâsp appointed a proper day, on which the Mobeds of every country should assemble; and a golden chair was placed for the Yunânî Sage. Then the beloved of Yezdân, the prophet Zertusht advanced into the midst of the assembly. The Yunânî Sage on seeing that chief said, "This form and this gait cannot lie, and nought but truth can proceed from them." He then asked the day of the prophet's nativity. The prophet of God told it. He said, "On such a day and under such a fortunate star a deceiver cannot be born." He next enquired into his diet and mode of life. The prophet of God explained the whole. The Sage said, "This mode of life cannot suit an impostor." The prophet of Yezdân then said to him: "I have answered you the questions which you have put to me; now, retain in your mind what the famed Yunânî Sages directed you to enquire of Zertusht and disclose it not; but listen and hear what they ask; for God hath informed me of it, and hath sent his word unto me to unfold it." The Sage said, "Speak." Thereupon the prophet Zertusht ordered the scholar to repeat the following texts:'

Dasât. p. 121, § 44. 'The friend of acuteness will say unto thee, The Nûrâkh[2] Sages ask, What use is there for a prophet in this world?'

[Here follow a number of the supposed questions that will be asked, and then a prophecy is made of Vishtâsp and an account given of how the Avesta came into the hands of Alexander the Great.]

Dasât. p. 123, §§ 58–59. [The sacred book of the Iranians is referred to in the text and the commentary says, among other things]:

Commentary. — 'That book is the inspired volume which the prophet of God, Zertusht, asked of God that he should send down as his book for the purpose of advice; that when the time of Sekander should arrive, the Destûrs might exhibit it, and he being gratified with it, become more attached to the faith of the Pure. Yezdân, approving of the request of his prophet, sent down a part of

[1] Yunân, *Pers.*; that is, Greece. [2] Yunân, *Pers.*

his word in the form of an Advice to Sekander; and the King (*i.e.* Gushtâsp) placed it, sealed with the seals of the Destûrs, in the Treasury. When Sekander gained the ascendency in Irân, Peridukht Roushenek and the Destûrs delivered that volume into his hands. He read it, applauded the religion of Ahâd (on which be blessings), praised the greatness of Zertusht and the truth of that Religion, and commanded the Moheds that they should make that book a portion of the Desâtîr. That sacred volume is known under the name of Sekander, as it is for his instruction that it was revealed to Zertusht; and the beginning of it is, "In the name of the Giver of Knowledge Mezdâm."'

Dasât. p. 125, § 64. 'O prophet and friend! Hertûsh son of Heresfetmâd! When Senkerâkâs[1] arrived, he was turned into the right road by one fershem of the Navîsshâ,[2] and returned back into Azend.'[3]

Commentary. — 'Chengerengâcheh was a sage renowned for his acuteness and wisdom, and the Moheds (wise-men) of the earth gloried in being his scholars. When he heard of the greatness of the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht the son of Isfentemân, he came to Irân with the intention of overturning the Good Religion. When he reached Balkh, before he had dropped a single word from his tongue, and before he had asked a single question, the prophet of Yezdân, Zertusht, said into him, "Commit not to your tongue what you have in your heart, but keep it secret." He then addressed a Sage who was his disciple, saying, "Read to him one section (Nisk) of the Awesta." In this blessed section of the Awesta were found the questions of Chengerengâcheh with the answers, which He (God) himself had communicated to the prophet; forewarning him, that such a person, of such a name would come; that his first question would be *this*, and that the answer was to be *so*. When Chengerengâcheh saw this miracle, he was converted to the Good Faith, and returning to the land of Hind remained steady in this blessed religion. May Yezdân the Bountiful grant to us and our friends this best of Faiths!'

Dasât. p. 126, § 65. 'Now a Brahman named Birâs[4] will come from Azend very wise, insomuch that there are few such persons on earth!'

§ 66. 'He, in his heart, intendeth to ask of thee, first, Why is not Mezdâm the immediate maker of all things having being?'

§ 67. 'Say thou unto him; Mezdâm is the Maker of all things; and used the medium of no instrument in bestowing existence on the Chief of Angels; but in regard to all other existence he made use of an instrument.'

[1] Chengerengâcheh, *Pers.*

[2] By one Nisk (i.e. Nask or section) of the Awesta, *Pers.*

[3] Hind, *Pers.*

[4] Biâs, *Pers.* Undoubtedly the celebrated Viâs or Vyâsa.

Commentary. — 'The First Intelligence received being from the Bestower of Being without the intervention of any instrument; while all other beings received existence by the intervention of instruments and media.'

[Here a long series of questions and answers are given to Zoroaster so as to prepare him. The text then continues as follows.]

Page 143, § 162. 'When you have expounded this matter to him, he will become of the true faith, and be converted to your religion.'

Commentary. — 'It is said that when Bîâs, the Hindî, came to Balkh, Gushtâsp sent for Zertusht, and informed the prophet of Yezdân of that wise man's coming. The prophet said, "May Yezdân turn it to good!" The Emperor then commanded that the Sages and Mobeds should be summoned from all countries. When they were all assembled, Zertusht came from his place of Worship; and Bîâs, also having joined the assembly, said to the prophet of Yezdân; "O Zertusht, the inhabitants of the world, moved by the answers and expounding of Secrets given to Chengerengâcheh, are desirous to adopt thy religion. I have heard, moreover, of many of thy miracles. I am a Hindî man, and, in my own country, of unequalled knowledge. I have in my mind several secrets, which I have never entrusted to my tongue, because some say that the Ahermans (devils) might give information of them to the idolaters of the Aherman faith: so no ear hath heard them, except that of my heart. If, in the presence of this assembly, you tell me, one after another, what those secrets are that remain on my mind, I will be converted to your faith. Shet Zertusht said, O Bîâs, Yezdân communicated to me your secrets, before your arrival. He then mentioned the whole in detail from beginning to end. When Bîâs heard, and asked the meaning of the *words*, and had them explained[1] to him, he returned thanks to Yezdân and united himself to the Behdîn, after which he returned back to Hind.'

§ 163. 'In the name of Mezdâm! O Zertusht! my prophet! After thee shall Simkendesh[2] appear, and afterwards the *First* Sâsân, the prophet, shall come and make thy Book known by a translation.'

§ 164. 'And no one but he shall know the meaning of my words.'

Commentary. — 'Hence it was that Shet Sâsân made an *interpretation* of the Book of Shet Zertusht agreeably to its sense.'

8. Dabistān (Persian) gives an account of the Persian religion, and of Zoroaster, and it has often been quoted above. This is accessible in Shea and Troyer's translation: *The Dabistān or School of Manners*, translated from the original Persian, by D. Shea and A. Troyer, Paris, 1843, vol. i. pp. 211–253.

9. Sources like the Shāh Nāmah, Zartusht Nāmah, Cangranghācah

[1] Since they were spoken in a Persian language which he did not understand.

[2] Sekander.

Nāmah and Mirkhond, have been sufficiently discussed above. For titles and editions of other Persian works on Zoroastrianism, reference may be made to West's Appendix, *The Modern-Persian Zoroastrian Literature of the Parsis* in the *Grundriss der iran. Philol.* ii. 122–129.

IV

Allusion to Zoroaster in the Snorra Edda Preface

[Reprinted, with unimportant omissions, from my *Notes on Zoroaster and the Avesta*, in *Proceedings AOS.*, March, 1894, vol. xvi. pp. cxxvi.–viii.]

In the preface to the Younger Edda there is a passage relating to Zoroaster which is perhaps worth recording among the allusions to his name found in non-Oriental literature. The preface to the Snorra Edda, after giving a brief sketch of the history of the world down to the time of Noah and the Flood, proceeds to an account of the Tower of Babel and the dispersion of the races through the confusion of tongues. Foremost among the builders of the tower was Zoroaster; the text adds that he became king of the Assyrians, and that he was the first idolater. In consequence of the confusion of tongues he was known by many names, but chief among these was Baal or Bel.

The text *Edda Snorra Sturlusonar, formāli* 2, ed. Jónsson, p. 5, is here given for convenience of future reference: *Ok sā, er fremstr var, hēt Zōrōastres; hann hlō, fyrr enn hann grēt, er hann kom ī veröldina; enn forsmithir voru* II *ok* LXX, *ok svā margar tungur hafa sīthan dreifst um veröldina, eptir thvī sem risarnir skiptust sīthan til landa, ok thjōthirnar fjölguthust. Ī thesum sama stath var gjör ein hin āgætasta borg ok dregit af nafni stöpulsins, ok köllut Babīlon. Ok sem tungnaskiptit var orthit, thā fjölguthust svā nöfnin mannanna ok annara hluta, ok sjā sami Zōrōastres hafthi mörg nöfn; ok thō at hann undirstœthi, at hans ofsi vœri lægthr of sagthri smīth, thā fœrthi hann sik thō fram til veraldligs metnathar, ok lēt taka sik til konungs yfir mörgum thjōthum Assirīōrum. Af honum hōfst skurthgotha villa; ok sem hann var blōtathr, var hann kallathr Baal; thann köllum vēr Bel; hann hafthi ok mörg önnur nöfn. Enn sem nöfnin fjölguthust, thā tyndist meth thī sannleikrinn.*

5 (p. 7). *Ok af thessu hōfst önnur villa millum Krītarmanna ok Macedonīōrum, svā sem hin fyrri methal Assirīōrum ok Kaldeis af Zōrōastre.*

This may be rendered: 'He who was the foremost (builder of the tower) was called Zoroaster; he laughed before he cried when he came into the world. But there were (in all) seventy-two master-builders; and so many tongues have since spread throughout the world, according as the giants afterwards were scattered over the land and the nations multiplied. In this same place was

built a most renowned town, and it derived its name from the tower, and was called Babylon. And when the confusion of tongues had come to pass, then multiplied also the names of men and of other things; and this same Zoroaster had many names. And although he well understood that his pride was humbled by the said work, nevertheless he pushed his way on to worldly distinction, and got himself chosen king over many peoples of the Assyrians. From him arose the error of graven images (i.e. idolatry); and when he was sacrificed unto, he was called Baal; we call him Bel; he had also many other names. But, as the names multiplied, so was the truth lost withal.'

5. '(From Saturn) there arose another heresy among the Cretans and Macedonians, just as the above mentioned error among the Assyrians and Chaldæans arose from Zoroaster.'

This passage is interesting for several reasons.

First, it preserves the tradition elsewhere recorded regarding Zoroaster's having laughed instead of having cried when he was born into the world. [This has already been discussed above, p. 27.]

Second, the two allusions here connecting Zoroaster with Assyria, Chaldæa, and Babylon are to be added to those references which associate his name also with these places (e.g. consult Windischmann, *Zor. Studien*, p. 303 seq.); or again they are to be placed beside the statement of the Armenian Moses of Khorene, Thomas Arzrounī and others who make Zoroaster a contemporary of Semiramis, and appointed by her to be ruler of Nineveh and Assyria. (See Spiegel, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, 1. 682 [and the quotation of the passage in this Appendix].)

Third, in connection with the reputed multiplicity of names of Zoroaster, and the association of his name with *Baal*, *Bel*, attention might be called to the citation in the Syro-Arabic Lexicon of Bar 'Alī (c. A.D. 832) s.v. *Balaam*, 'Balaam is Zardosht, the diviner of the Magians' (cf. Gottheil, *References*, in the *Drisler Classical Studies*).

APPENDIX VII

NOTES ON SCULPTURES SUPPOSED TO REPRESENT ZOROASTER

THERE is a supposition that we are not wholly without some representation of the personal appearance of Zoroaster, at least according to the conception which prevailed in Sassanian times. One sculptured image, in particular, has been supposed to represent in effigy an ideal of the great Master. It is also stated that there is a picture of Zoroaster in a fire-temple at Yezd, which is said to be taken from an old sculpture that exists at Balkh. This tradition, together with other facts and material on the subject of portraiture of Zoroaster, is given in the following pages. The modern Zoroastrians themselves can doubtless add much more valuable information on this interesting subject. It is hoped that they will do so.

(a) In the first place we may refer to a very old tradition on the subject of an effigy of Zoroaster; this is found in the Syriac work called the 'Oration of Meliton the Philosopher; who was in the presence of Antoninus Cæsar, and bade the same Cæsar know God,' etc. This interesting allusion is quoted by Gottheil, *References to Zoroaster* (p. 27), from the translation of Cureton, *Spicilegium Syriacum*, London, 1855, p. 44, cf. p. 91, n. 36; it mentions an 'image of Orpheus, a Thracian Magus; and Hadran is the image of Zaradusht, a Persian Magus.' The special point of importance is that it shows the existence of a tradition as to a representation of Zoroaster.

(b) E. G. Browne, in his valuable work, *A Year amongst the Persians*, London, 1893, p. 374, describes a visit which he paid to three Zoroastrian fire-temples at Yezd. The third temple which he mentions, serves as a theological college for training youths for the priesthood, and it contains a relic of interest. On the walls of one of the rooms of this building, Dr. Browne saw a picture which attracted his notice, or to use the words of his own description (p. 374): 'A picture of Zoroaster (taken, as Ardashīr [the host and guide] told me, from an old sculpture at Balkh), and several inscriptions on the walls

of the large central room, were the only other points of interest presented by the building.' It would be highly interesting if we could secure a copy of this portrait or of its reputed original at Balkh, because this would best represent the modern Zoroastrian traditional idea of the appearance of the great High Priest. Possibly we may obtain it. The mention of Balkh, moreover, is interesting if this be a different representation from the supposed effigy at Takht-i Bostān. Should this be the case, and the location of the sculptured figure be found to be at the old temple Nūbahār, we should have a new proof of the traditional association of Zoroaster's name with Balkh.

(c) The modern Parsi historian Dosabhai Framji Karaka, whose work, *History of the Parsis*, London, 1884, is indispensable to students of Zoroastrianism in our day, presents in his second volume (ii. 146) an idealized colored portrait of the founder of the Faith, which is here reproduced (see Figure I.), without the coloring, however. The portrait is evidently based upon the sculptures next to be described, and it has the value of giving the Parsi conception directly.

(d) The Takht-i Bostān Sculpture. Not far distant from Behistān, and near the city of Kermānshāh (see Map, — square Bc), in the valley of Takht-i Bostān or Tek-i Bostān, on a hillside, is to be found a series of six historic bas-reliefs. The sixth or last of these bas-reliefs comprises a group of four sculptured figures, reproductions of which are presented below, being based upon the copies found in Sir Robert Ker Porter, *Travels in Georgia, Persia, Armenia*, etc., London, 1822, vol. ii. 191; Flandin et Coste, *Voyage en Perse*, i. Planche 14, texte p. 6; George Rawlinson, *The Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, London, 1876, p. 64; K. D. Kiash, *Ancient Persian Sculptures*, Bombay, 1889, p. 211; and especially the photographic copy of de Morgan, *Mission Scientifique en Perse*, Paris, 1894, vol. ii. plate xxxiv. p. 104–5; vol. iv. plate xxxv. p. 310–11. The photograph of the sculpture taken by M. de Morgan is so interesting that it seems appropriate to make it accessible to those who cannot consult the valuable original work. A brief description of the possible subject of this four-fold group, which, unfortunately, bears no inscription, is not out of place here.

Sir R. K. Porter (p. 191) records that this rock-sculptured group is called by the natives 'The Four Calendars,' but he does not explain why the name is given (see Figures II. and III.). He regards

the figure on the extreme left (or to the right as we face the picture) as the god Ormazd presenting the ring or emblem of sovereignty to Ardashīr Bābagān, who stands in the centre of the group, 'and both are trampling upon a similar royally-habited figure symbolical of the fallen Arsacidæ.' Of the fourth or remaining figure, the one in which we are particularly interested, Sir Ker Porter says (p. 192): 'The personage to the right of the centre figure [or to the left as we face the group] is of rather a singular appearance. His head is protected by a similar kind of cap, but without the ball, and with the extraordinary addition of a circle of rays blazing round his head and down to below his shoulders. He holds in both hands a fluted staff, or sceptre, of great length. The rest of his vesture nearly resembles that of the murally crowned figure. He stands upon a plant, not unlike a sunflower, the stalk of which is short and thick, and curved down into a lower part of the rock. The prostrate person is greatly mutilated; but his pearl-wreath, collar, and sword show that his consequence was not inferior to the two who trample on him. . . . The radiated personage [the one under discussion] may either be a personification of the Mithratic religion restored by him [i.e. by Ardashīr, the central figure]; which the sunbeams round the head and the full-blown flower rising under their influence at his feet, seem to typify; or the figure may be meant for the glorified Zoroaster himself; some Persian writers ascribing to him the reflected honor of that god-like attribute. The altar-platform near this bas-relief, and also the source of the river (two sacred Mithratic appendages), support the idea that this sculpture contains more than human images.'

Sir John Malcolm, *History of Persia*, new edition, London, 1829, vol. i. p. 545 (cf. earlier edition i. 258), speaks of the two figures with the circle or ring as 'two sovereigns upon a prostrate Roman soldier;' and he adds: 'A figure supposed to be the prophet Zoroaster stands by their side; his feet rest upon a star, and his head is covered with a glory or crown of rays.' And he adds in a foot-note: 'I am informed by the Parsees, or Guebres, that in almost all the paintings or sculptures that represent Zoroaster he is always distinguished by a crown of rays, or glory, as I have described.' This shows, at least, the prevalence of a tradition that representations of Zoroaster were thought to be not uncommon, whatever we may think on the subject. Flandin also believed the radiated figure to be Zoroaster (*Voyage en Perse* de MM. Flandin et Coste, i. 442, Rélation de Voyage, Paris, 1851).

FIGURE II

A SCULPTURE AT TAKHT-I BOSTĀN

Edward Thomas, *Sassanian Inscriptions*, in the *Journ. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Gt. Brit. and Ireland*, new series, vol. iii. p. 267, n. 3, London, 1868 (= *Early Sassanian Inscriptions, Seals and Coins*, p. 27, London, Trübner, 1868), argues that the figure with the rays and staff represents the god Ormazd, and he bases his identification upon an acknowledged representation of Ormazd in a Naḳsh-i Rustam bas-relief (op. cit. p. 269).[1] As for the rays, he adds in a note that a similar form is given to Ormazd's headgear in a coin of Hormisdas II. The other two figures in our group he regards, as do others, to be the representation of Ardashīr presenting the crown of Iran to his son Shāpūr.[2]

Canon George Rawlinson (op. cit. p. 64) agrees with Thomas that the radiated figure is Ormazd, not Zoroaster; that the other two are Ardashīr and Shāpūr, and that the prostrate figure represents 'either Artabanus or the extinct Parthian monarchy, probably the former; while the sunflower upon which Ormazd stands, together with the rays that stream from his head, denote an intention to present him under a Mithraic aspect, suggestive to the beholder of a real latent identity between the two great objects of Persian worship.' Professor Rawlinson, therefore, like Thomas, is not of the same opinion as those who presume that the figure represents Zoroaster. Similarly also, M. Dieulafoy, *Suse*, iv. 409, and Curzon, *Persia*, i. 563.

The Parsi scholar, Kawasjee Dinshah Kiash, who visited Takht-i Bostān in 1878 and sketched the group, gives, in his serviceable book (*The Ancient Persian Sculptures*, p. 212), an interesting tradition regarding this bas-relief which seems not to be recorded by other writers on the subject. But first we may notice the details that he gives concerning the special figure, which, like the other effigies, stands about seven feet in height. 'The head of the first figure [the one we are discussing] is covered up with a piece of cloth, and a *serpach* flows down the back. He is clad in a short, plain coat, and wears a belt. He holds in both hands a club three feet long and three inches thick. The rays of the sun shine direct upon his head, and a star glitters beneath him.' Kiash next notes that some scholars call this a 'sunflower' rather than a star, and he further describes the other three figures of the group. Then follows the interesting tradition: —

[1] Some notes on sculptured images of Ormazd will appear in my article on *Ormazd* in *The Monist*, Chicago, Dec., 1898.

[2] On the subject of Ardashīr and his history, see Darab D. P. Sanjana, *Kārnāmē ī Artakhshīr ī Pāpakān*, new ed., Bombay, 1896.

'Owing to the deficiency in the inscription, tradition says: "The first figure with the club is that of Prophet Zoroaster, the second is that of Gustasp, the fifth king of the Kayanian dynasty, the third is that of his son, the mighty Asphandiar [Isfendīār], who had established the Zoroastrian religion through the whole of Persia, and the last is that of Arjasp, the grandson of Afrasiab of Tooran, or Tartary. The circlet shows that the whole world is in their possession."'

He then adds: 'The above tradition, I believe, is taken from the Shah Nameh. The Persians take great pride in speaking of their by-gone kings. Ancient and modern writers contradict these statements, and doubtless the figures were not sculptured by the Kayanian kings, but by Ardeshir Babighan, the first ruler of the last dynasty of the Zoroastrians.' Mr. Kiash goes on to say he agrees with the view that the sculpture is of Sassanian origin, that the second and third figures apparently represent Ardashīr and Shāpūr I., and the dead figure is emblematical of the downfall of the Parthian dynasty. As to the first only is he in doubt, 'as it is of peculiar construction and differs from others I have seen in different parts of Persia. On comparing it with the two figures holding clubs at Nacksh-i-Rajab (op. cit. p. 112) and Nacksh-i-Roostum (p. 121), both the dress and crown differ. I am unable to give the name of any religious personage or celestial being, but simply state that it must be a sign of the Mithraic religion. According to the opinion of my co-travellers, it is believed to be a form of the Prophet Zoroaster.'

Whatever may be the origin and worth of the 'tradition' which Mr. Kiash quotes as connecting the figures with Vishtāspa and his contemporaries, it certainly is very interesting in connection with Chapter X. and the characters who act in the drama of the Holy War, especially Arjāsp, the foeman of the Faith, with whom we have become sufficiently acquainted. The statement which the Parsi writer records of the opinion of his co-travellers to the effect that the figure is that of the Prophet Zoroaster, shows, like kindred statements, a preponderance of traditional authority on the side of the Zoroastrians, at least, in identifying this figure with their Prophet. Everything of that kind has its weight and importance when we enter upon the question of such identifications or endeavor to interpret sculptured remains.

The evidence on the subject of this particular sculpture, as we look it over, seems to be about evenly balanced. Tradition apparently favors the identification of the effigy with Zoroaster; the

FIGURE III

A DRAWING OF THE TAKHT-I BOSTĀN SCULPTURE

more technical scholarly opinion of recent times, on the other hand, seems rather to regard the figure as a representation of Ormazd. The claim to Mithraic characteristics is not so easy to recognize. This much may be said in favor of tradition, that the figure would answer well to the glorified image, with 'dazzling wand' and 'lustrous glory' around the head, which is the guise under which the Zoroastrian writer of the Zartusht Nāmah, in the thirteenth century, describes the vision of the Prophet's appearance (see Wilson, *Parsi Religion*, p. 481). It is to be regretted that M. de Morgan (iv. 310; observe his note) does not especially discuss the figure. For the sake of sentiment we should, perhaps, best like to imagine that the whole group really represents a Sassanian conception of a scene from the Holy War of Zoroastrianism, in which the great High Priest figured so prominently, and to which Kiash alludes in his 'tradition'; but, after all, we should have to acknowledge that this is due, perhaps, to our sentiment and fancy.[1]

The whole subject of the portraiture of Zoroaster requires further investigation.[2] Much will doubtless be added on this question from time to time.[3] Let us hope especially that additional information

[1] Murray's *Handbook of Asia Minor, Transcaucasia, Persia*, etc., London, 1895, p. 327, merely gives the common statement that this is a 'Sassanian panel, which is supposed to represent the investiture of Shapūr I. with part of the kingdom, by his father, Ardeshīr.'

[2] A figure has been published as a portrait of Zoroaster in Dr. Wallace Wood's *Hundred Greatest Men*, p. 125, London, 1885, but I have not been able to find authority for attributing the likeness to Zoroaster. It represents the head of a grave-faced priest and counsellor, with the familiar mitre-shaped pontifical head-covering of Sassanian times. On p. 496 of the volume, a note is added that the figure is copied from a bas-relief at Persepolis. Mention is made of Thomas, *Early Sassanian Inscriptions*. The portrait is reproduced as a frontispiece to an article on *Mazdaism* in the *Open Court*, xi. 129, Chicago, 1897. In a following number of *The Open Court*, xi. 378, a Parsi, N. F. Bilimoria, writes that the portrait was new to him and to his co-religionists. As an ideal it is good; but it seems to lack traditional authority. I may learn more about it.

[3] At the moment when I am sending the final proof-sheets to the press, there arrives from my friend Professor Charles R. Lanman, of Harvard University, a prospectus of an important work just issued by Mr. Quaritch of London, and the Harvard Library kindly forwards to me the magnificent facsimile. It is entitled *A Florentine Picture-Chronicle by Maso Finiguerra*, and it is a reproduction of a fifteenth century folio of Italian drawings now in the British Museum. Among these drawings are '14. Zoroaster,' '49. Oromasdes raising the Dead,' and '50. Hostanes.' The 'Zoroaster' is a typical magician with books of black art and imps rather than an antique sage.

or suggestion on this special theme may be obtained particularly from the Zoroastrians themselves. Any material that can be found to throw more light on the problem will be welcomed. The subject is one that is worthy of earnest consideration because it stands, in a certain manner, for an ideal. I shall be glad if these notes have contributed anything by drawing attention to this interesting theme for research. And with these words I close the book, adding only a line which the Pahlavi scribes of old liked to add in the colophon:

Frajaft pavan drūṯ va šāṯīh va rāmišn.

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KEY TO THE MAP

KEY TO THE MAP

1. On Iranian geography, see especially Geiger in *Grundriss der Iran. Philol.* 371–394, where a Bibliography is given.
2. Avestan, Pahlavi, or Ancient Persian names in the list are designat *italics.*
3. Conjectural identifications are indicated by (?) or by 'prob.' (probably)

Abbasabad Gb
Adarbaijan (Azerbijan) ABCabc
Airyana Vaejah = Adarbaijan? ABCabc
Alburz Mts. CDEFb
Alvand Mt. Cc
Amu Daria (see Oxus)
Aras (Araxes) Ba
Ardabil Ca
Asnavant Mt. = Sahend?
Atropatene = see Adarbaijan
Bactria KLMbc
Badghis IKc
Balkh Mb
Barfrush Eb
Behistan (Besitun) Bc
Binalud Kuh Hb
Birjand Hd
Bokhara La
Caecista (*Caecasta*) Ab
Caspian Sea = prob. Vourukasha CDEab
Cha-kansur IKe
Chorasmia (see Kb.)
Chorassan (see Kh.)
Daitya river = Kizel Uzen? BCb
Darej river = Daryai Ba
Demavand Mt. DEc
Dinaver (Dinewer) (not on Map) Bc
Draujiana IKe
Ecbatana (Hamadan) Cc
Elburz (see Alburz)
Elvend = Alvand Cc
Farah Rud IKde
Fars (Persis) DEFefg
Ferghanah (in Turkestan, NE)
Ganzaca Bb
Ghazni Nd
Ghilan Cb
Ghor Ld
Ghuznee (see Ghazni)
Gunabad Hb
Hamadan (Ecbatana) Cc
Hamun swamp Ie
Hara Berezaiti (see Alburz)
Hassar (see Hissar)
Herat Kc
Hilmend River KLMe
Hissar MNa
Hyrcania EFGb
Ispahan (Isfahan) Dd
Istakhr = Persepolis (NE of Shiraz) Ef
Jagatai Mts. Gb
Jihun (Oxus) River IKab
Kabul Nc
Kaian (Kain) Hd
Kansava = prob. Cha-kansur IKe
Karman (see Kerman)
Kashaf River Hb
Kerman
Kermanshah
Khorasmia EI
Khorassan FGH.
Kirmanshah
Kizel Uzen (Sefid, Safed) River B'
Kuh-i Mish Gl
Kumish Gl
Kunduz N
Kurdistan ABl
Lake Urumiah A
Madan H.
Maragha Bl
Mash-had Hl
Mazanderan DEb
Media CDEbc
Merv IKb
Meshed (see Mash-had)
Miandasht Gb
Mihr Gb
Murghab River Kbc
Nihavand Cc
Nishabur (Nishapur) Hb
Oxus (Jihun River) IKab
Parthia FGbc
Pasargadæ Ee
Persepolis (NE of Shiraz) Ef
Persis (Fars) DEFefg
Radkan Hb
Ragha (Rai) Dc
Rai Dc
Safed, Sefid River (Kizel Uzen) BCb
Sagastan (Seistan) IKLde
Sahend, Mt. Bb
Samarkand Ma
Sari Eb
Savalan Mt. Ba
Sehna Bc
Seistan IKLde
Sbiraz Ef
Shiz (cf. Takht-i Suleiman) Bb
Sogdiana LMNa
Spet Razhur Hd
Susa Cd
Taberistan Ec
Tajan River (Thejend) Eb
Takht-i Bostan Bc
Takht-i Suleiman Bb
Teheran Dc
Tojan = ? see Tajan
Turan = Turkestan
Turkestan FMab
Tus Hb
Urumiah (Urmia) Ab
Vourukasha = prob. Caspian Sea
Yazd (Yezd) Fe
Zenjan Cb

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